



Childhood in Ancient Athens

Iconography and Social History

Lesley A. Beaumont

ROUTLEDGE MONOGRAPHS IN CLASSICAL STUDIES



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CHILDHOOD IN ANCIENT ATHENS

Childhood in Ancient Athens offers an in-depth study of children during the heyday of the Athenian city state, thereby illuminating a significant social group largely ignored by most ancient and modern authors alike. It concentrates not only on the child's own experience, but also examines the perceptions of children and childhood by Athenian society: these perceptions variously exhibit both similarities and stark contrasts with those of our own twenty-first century Western society. The study covers the juvenile life course from birth and infancy through early and later childhood, and treats these life stages according to the topics of nurture, play, education, work, cult and ritual, and death.

In view of the scant ancient Greek literary evidence pertaining to childhood, Beaumont focuses on the more copious ancient visual representations of children in Athenian pot painting, sculpture and terracotta modelling. Notably, this is the first full-length monograph in English to address the iconography of childhood in ancient Athens, and it breaks important new ground by rigorously analysing and evaluating classical art to reconstruct childhood's social history. With over 120 illustrations, the book provides a rich visual as well as narrative resource for the history of childhood in classical antiquity.

Lesley A. Beaumont is Senior Lecturer in Classical Archaeology in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Sydney, and was formerly the Assistant Director of the British School at Athens.

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CHILDHOOD IN ANCIENT ATHENS

Iconography and Social History

Lesley A. Beaumont

To Sami and Lydia, the adults of tomorrow,
and to Vahdet, the child of yesterday

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
ABV	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956
ADelt	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
Add ²	T.H. Carpenter (ed.), <i>Beazley Addenda</i> (2nd edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AM	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen</i>
AntCl	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
ARV ²	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (2nd edition), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963
AZ	<i>Archäologische Zeitung</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
EMC	<i>Echos du monde classique</i>
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JhOAI	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Zurich & Munich, Artemis, 1981–2009

ABBREVIATIONS

MDA(A)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>Meditarch</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Antiquité</i>
MMAJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal</i>
<i>Para</i>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
RA	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
TAPhA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Part I

INTRODUCTION, DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY

FRAMING THE CONTEXT

Like a child, this book has been developing for many years. Its life began in the doctoral research I undertook at University College London, which resulted in the writing of a thesis, ‘Studies on the Iconography of Divine and Heroic Children in Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painting of the Fifth Century BC’ (1992).¹ While my original intention as a postgraduate student had been to treat representations of mortal, as well as superhuman, childhood, the subject proved too large for the purposes of a PhD thesis. Since the surviving ancient Greek literary sources provide far more information about the experiences and exploits of divine and heroic children than they do about the lives of mortal offspring, and since we are therefore more readily equipped to ‘read’, or decode, the images of mythological children preserved in the material record, I decided to limit my doctoral research to an analysis of the numerous superhuman children depicted on Athenian red figure pottery. Now, however, two decades later I am revisiting my original aim to examine the representation of mortal children and childhood in ancient Athenian art. Happily, in those intervening years important developments have taken place, not only in the culture-specific study of ancient Greek children, but also in terms of an emerging theoretical approach to the archaeology of childhood, and in the diachronic and cross-cultural study of the wider history of childhood. As a result, this book on the iconography and social history of Athenian children constitutes a far better-informed and richer offering than I could have contributed to scholarship had its gestation period been a shorter one. In view of this claim, it seems appropriate and desirable to begin this volume with a review of work already undertaken on the archaeology and history of ancient Greek children and childhood, and to contextualise the current undertaking in the still emerging wider discipline of ancient childhood studies, both historical and archaeological.

1.1 Scholarship on ancient Greek children and childhood

In the second half of the nineteenth and the opening years of the twentieth century, a handful of books and journal articles, mostly written in

German, French and English, explored the subject of children and childhood in ancient Greece: though aspects studied varied widely, a particular interest was expressed in childhood education and the depiction of children in art.² Subsequently, between the First and Second World Wars, interest continued to grow in the study of ancient Greek childhood based on the evidence of both ancient art and literature,³ with the exploration of toys and games on one hand and the practice of infant exposure on the other now also coming to the forefront.⁴ Also by now the influence of Arnold Van Gennep's seminal work, *Les Rites de Passage*, first published in 1909, was beginning to filter its way into scholarship on the Classical world. Thanks to Van Gennep the cross-cultural human experience, and culture-specific ritual marking, of the movement from one life stage to the next received scholarly recognition: this understanding had particular implications for the study of childhood and youth and its major transitional stages such as birth, puberty and marriage. In terms of Classical scholarship, adolescence was now accordingly identified as a subject worthy of investigation, and in 1939 H. Jeanmaire published *Couroi et Courètes: essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique*. Scholars such as A. Brenot and P. Roussel also ventured to explore aspects of the Athenian *ephebeia*, which certainly by the fourth century BC, if not earlier, had been established as a transitional period of military training for male youths.⁵

In the post-Second World War decades of the fifties, sixties and seventies, the corpus of scholarship on ancient Greek children and childhood continued to expand, and witnessed some important trends and developments. Interest in toys and games, in, the child-to-adult transition, and also in the Athenian *ephebeia*, persisted,⁶ and in 1969 A. Brelich followed up on the earlier work of H. Jeanmaire with his publication of *Paides e Parthenoi*, which investigated the question of initiation rituals in the lives of Greek children and youths. Enquiry into ancient Greek education now, furthermore, witnessed a resurgence, with the work of H.I. Marrou and F.A.G. Beck grounded firmly in the primary literary and archaeological sources and constituting important appraisals of the subject that still carry currency to this day.⁷ It is significant to note that Beck specifically included in his discussions of the 1970s the question of the education of girls,⁸ an indication that contemporary feminist approaches were making sure inroads into the heretofore largely androcentric agendas of research on the Classical world. Indeed, groundbreaking work in Classical scholarship, such as S.B. Pomeroy's *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (1975), was now fixing attention firmly on the ancient female, and while such studies largely concerned themselves with the adult woman, this nevertheless had important flow-on effects for the study of ancient childhood via an interest in the woman as mother and in the preparation of girls for marriage, wifehood, and the bearing and raising of their own children. Also contributing to a growing awareness of children as a fundamental element in

the ancient social matrix was research into the Classical family: among such work, which was in part catalysed by the rapidly changing social landscape of the post-Second World War decades, of particular importance and influence was W.K. Lacey's 1968 publication of *The Family in Classical Greece*. At the same time, the post-war years witnessed an increasing interest in the intersection of child life and religious cult, not least in the growing scholarship on the Anthesteria festival and the representation of young children on Attic red figure *choes*.⁹ With the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron between 1948 and 1963,¹⁰ emerging scholarly interest in the juvenile female and in the cultic life of children met head-on to spawn a line of scholarly investigation which continues to this day, namely the role of girls in Greek religion. Also significant here was the metamorphosis occurring in the study of Greek religion which, under the influence of anthropological theory and parallel, was now analysing religious thought and practice as an instrument of socialisation, which applied not least to the socialisation of the young and their ultimate incorporation into adult society: C. Calame's 1977 publication of *Les Choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* constituted an early expression of this interest. Alongside the influence of contemporary feminist and sociological trends which were now shaping scholarship on the ancient world and making the discipline receptive to consideration of issues related to children, the more sexually liberated era of the 1970s witnessed a further turning point in the study of ancient Greek childhood and youth when K.J. Dover published his book *Greek Homosexuality* (1978), in which he presented a candid analysis of the practice and perception of the paederastic relationship in ancient Athens.

In 1981, M. Karras and J. Wieshöfer compiled *Kindheit und Jugend in der Antike: Eine Bibliographie*, an indication that work on childhood in antiquity had developed sufficiently to become an identifiable scholarly corpus. Nevertheless, it is only since 1980 that a critical mass of scholarship has come to be produced specifically on children and childhood in ancient Greece. Following Dover's pioneering work, a good many more articles and books have, since the 1980s, explored the phenomenon of Greek paederasty.¹¹ Greek education, and issues surrounding adolescent transition, have remained popular subjects of investigation,¹² and enquiry into the question of infant exposure has seen a resurgence.¹³ The role of the child in Greek cult and the use of religion as a means for the socialisation of children and young people has also continued to be explored, particularly in relation to the female child.¹⁴

In 1990 the publication by M. Golden of his important monograph *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* heralded a significant advance in the study of ancient Greek childhood via the focusing of serious attention on the child in anglophone Classical scholarship: indeed, as Golden notes in his preface, this was the first full-length book written in the English language to discuss childhood in ancient Athens.¹⁵ Basing his work primarily on ancient literary texts, Golden treated first the characteristics of children

and childhood as perceived by Athenian society, before devoting most of his discussion to an examination of the child's place in the household and community and the child's relationships with those around him. In the same year R. Garland published *The Greek Way of Life: From Conception to Old Age*. While this was not a book written specifically on the subject of ancient childhood, Garland's life-course approach to his topic meant that three of his six chapters were devoted to 'Childbirth', 'The Growing Child' and 'Coming of Age', thus drawing further attention to the sub-adult population of Classical antiquity. Like Golden, Garland marshalled the evidence of mainly ancient literary sources, though he adopted a somewhat more catholic approach than Golden by incorporating a wider sample of archaeological evidence.

While the representation of children in Greek art was not a new subject, the 1980s saw the beginning of revitalised interest in the topic. In 1983 O. Hirsch-Dyckel and C. Vorster collected and analysed, respectively, images of children on Attic funerary stelai and in free-standing sculpture.¹⁶ Hard on their heels in 1984, H. Rühfel published two important volumes on children in Greek art: one a survey of the image of the child from the Greek Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period, and the other a closer analysis of the iconography of child life found mainly on Attic figured pottery.¹⁷ Subsequently, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, work also got under way on the question of the representation of childhood age in ancient Greek art, a critical aspect of iconographical study heretofore ignored: this subject will form part of a wider discussion and evaluation in the chapter that follows this introduction, but suffice it for now to say that C. Sourvinou-Inwood's *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography* (Athens, Kardamitsa, 1988), C. Clairmont's 'Age groups on tombstones and family relationships' in his introductory volume of *Classical Attic Tombstones* (Kilchberg, Akanthus, 1993) and my own article 'Constructing a methodology for the interpretation of childhood age in Classical Athenian iconography' in the *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13.2 (1994) all drew attention to the methodological difficulties inherent in analysing and seeking to interpret the evidence of ancient art for past children and childhoods. A new and important addition to the corpus of work on the iconography of childhood is C. Hennessy's 2008 publication *Images of Children in Byzantium*.¹⁸ In recent years the image of the ancient Greek child has also been treated as the subject of a major exhibition entitled 'Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past': this exhibition travelled to a number of US museums during 2003 and 2004, and reached a wider international audience via the publication of an exhibition catalogue which also incorporated a number of scholarly essays addressing aspects of childhood in Greek antiquity.¹⁹ The exhibition also spawned a dedicated conference on 'Constructions of Childhood in the Ancient World', and a further conference session at the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, both since published.²⁰

While this exhibition of 2003 and the publications and conferences with which it was associated have markedly raised both public and scholarly anglophone awareness of ancient childhood as a subject worthy of attention and discussion, it should be noted that a number of museum exhibitions, conference gatherings and resulting publications, which turned the spotlight on the child in antiquity, had appeared already from 1991 onwards in Germany, France, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Two of these concentrated on ancient toys and games,²¹ two on birth and infancy,²² and another on an overview of childhood and youth in antiquity.²³ This flurry of activity in the study of ancient childhood was mirrored, and was at least in part catalysed, by work on the family in antiquity: the 1980s and 1990s witnessed a number of important publications on the Greek family, and most recently in 2010 Wiley-Blackwell published *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*.²⁴ Issues surrounding the family, motherhood, fatherhood, children and the relationship between parents and their offspring are all topics of concern to our own contemporary Western society, and scholarship on the ancient family and related subjects is flourishing as never before.²⁵ The use, furthermore, not only of iconography, which I have already mentioned, but also of funerary archaeology, as tools we can employ to uncover past children and childhoods is now beginning to come into its own in Classical scholarship, alongside the longer-established tradition of sifting the ancient literary sources for relevant references: excavated mortuary evidence related to children which had previously been regarded as not worthy of attention, is now being revisited with new theoretical and methodological approaches and techniques and is providing us with new perspectives on childhoods long since lived.²⁶ I will return to this point in the final section of this chapter.

1.2 The emergence of the ‘history of childhood’

In order to position the current undertaking not only within the context of scholarship on the Classical world, but also within the wider framework of the development of theoretical and methodological approaches to the diachronic and cross-cultural study of childhood in the past, we must now turn to a consideration of the relatively recent emergence of the scholarly sub-discipline of the ‘History of Childhood’.

In 1960 Philippe Ariès published *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, a tome which was translated into English two years later as *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. This book is now commonly commended as the work which for the first time recognised that childhood is a culturally constructed category determined by its geographical and temporal locus: that is, that the concept and experience of childhood differs according to where and when in human history it was (and is) located. While acknowledging the fundamental importance of Ariès' achievement, some later scholars have, however, been critical that his analytical approach was

too 'present-minded', even 'present-centered', in seeking to determine when present-day Western attitudes to the child developed, rather than evaluating the past on its own terms.²⁷ Ariès has also been criticised for taking a rather too literal approach to the iconographical sources he used in addition to written sources of evidence, since he interpreted painted images of subadults in medieval Western art as direct mirror images of child life and of the child's place in society, rather than cross-examining the images as reflecting these aspects through the filter of artistic construct. Though almost half a century has passed since Ariès wrote his book, there is still much benefit that may be obtained for this present study by incorporating into the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted here the lessons of the major achievements and flaws just outlined in relation to Ariès' work, and more will be said on this subject towards the end of this chapter.

Prior to the publication of Ariès' book, scholars of the Classical world had already, as has been outlined above, written about various aspects of childhood in ancient Greece. However, owing to the unfortunate dislocation of academic disciplines, Ariès' groundbreaking tome went largely unnoticed in the halls of Classical scholarship and thus long failed to impact on the research being undertaken on childhood in antiquity. Over the twenty years that followed the appearance of Ariès' volume, though the history of childhood established itself as a valid topic of study in its own right, the work undertaken was restricted mainly to the medieval and subsequent periods of Western history, the very time frame that had provoked the interest of Ariès himself. By 1980 the developing mass of scholarship was being organised by the publication of a bibliography relating to research on the history of childhood, youth and the family.²⁸ At the same time, the publication of retrospective evaluations of Ariès' work permitted historians not only to assess the strengths and weaknesses of his methodology and thesis as they saw fit, but also to advance an appraisal of the progress since Ariès of the history of childhood as a new sub-discipline and to recommend future directions.²⁹ A significant development in the mid-1980s was the attempt made by historians of childhood to incorporate Classical antiquity into wider-based cross-cultural enquiry into the history of childhood, a move that was, however, to only slowly gather pace in the years following.³⁰ Happily, as we enter the twenty-first century the history and archaeology of ancient Greek childhood is gradually becoming further contextualised within the still-emerging discipline of childhood studies, not only via the appearance of further publications which treat childhood within a cross-cultural and diachronic framework,³¹ but also as a result of the convening of conferences on past childhoods which allow interested historians, archaeologists and anthropologists of many periods, regions and specialisations to come together and investigate what reciprocal illumination they may be able to offer each other.³²

For the very reason that childhood is culturally constructed, its study must perforce be culturally contextualised, and it is therefore this book's aim to

contribute to our knowledge of ancient Greek, and more particularly Athenian, children and childhood. Our theoretical approach must, however, also be informed by the wider perspectives developed over the last fifty years by historians of largely later Western childhoods, perspectives which, for example, perceive the child as a social agent rather than simply a passive component in the social fabric, neatly summarised thus by J.M. Hawes and N.R. Hiner: ‘children in the past were central to the reproduction of class and the transmission of culture, important elements in the maintenance of political stability, and a significant source of labor for their families and communities’.³³ In dealing with the distant past we are not, however, so fortunate as historians exploring childhood in more recent periods, who often have at their disposal generous quantities of written and documentary, as well as material, evidence. Our consequent greater reliance on archaeological sources demands the application of a rigorous and appropriately nuanced approach to their analysis and interpretation. However, it is notably only in recent years that sound archaeological theory and methodology, developed largely outside scholarship on the Classical world, has started to be applied to childhood studies. Let us now, therefore, turn to this emerging archaeological sub-discipline.

1.3 Towards an archaeology of childhood

As we emerge from an androcentric view of the past we realise that, however much bygone societies may in themselves have been constructed along androcentric lines, women and children were nevertheless consumers and producers of material culture and themselves agents within the social matrix. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to search for ways in which to access their lives and to position them within past society. This shift has already happened, and continues to unfold, in relation to the archaeology of women, but in terms of children the process is still germinating and establishing its theoretical and methodological base. While the conscious scholarly attempt to recover the history (or better, the multiple histories) of childhood began in the 1960s with Ariès, acknowledgement that an archaeology of childhood was still missing had to wait until 1989 when Grete Lillehammer published an article appropriately entitled ‘A child is born: the child’s world in an archaeological perspective’.³⁴ Following that rallying cry, the mid-nineties duly witnessed the organisation and subsequent publication of a number of symposia and conference sessions on the archaeology of childhood.³⁵ Most of these were convened and edited by prehistorians who, because of their chosen field of study, are entirely reliant on the evidence of material culture and who tend, therefore, to be more inventive and rigorous in the development and application of archaeological theory than many of their colleagues working in historical periods for which complementary, if limited, written and documentary sources may also be available. Nevertheless, the

participants included in the conference gatherings and resulting publications were noticeably diverse in terms of their temporal and geographical specialisations which included, among others, ancient Greece and Rome, Anglo Saxon England, ancient Egypt, and Inca South America. What drew them together was their interest in past childhoods and their sense of scholarly frustration and isolation at often being regarded by their academic peers as working on the fringes of mainstream archaeology. Much of this attitudinal bias and marginalising of childhood as a cultural category can be attributed to our own late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century view of children in contemporary Western society. As the duration of compulsory schooling has lengthened and as consequently the direct economic productivity of young people has decreased, and as legislation protecting the rights of children has multiplied, we have come more and more to regard them as dependent individuals until they reach the late teenage years. With their lives increasingly prescribed by the state and the family, the inevitable corollary is that in the contemporary West we have a tendency to deem all sub-adults as, to use K.A. Kamp's words, 'passive, the object of others' initiatives, to assume that all the meaningful work is done by adults, and that it is only adults who produce cultural innovations'.³⁶ Take a closer look and it soon becomes clear that this, of course, is not the case. For example, today's teenagers in particular are a major commercial force in the arenas of retail fashion and music, and their desires drive many of the technological innovations we witness in the mobile phone and digital communications industries. Their impact on material culture, and on the shaping of the future, is huge. So it always has been: children and young people have always contributed to shaping the material world around them, either directly or indirectly, and only through the children could, and can, cultural transmission, change and/or continuity ultimately be effected in terms of the next generation.

How, then, can we seek to recover and interpret the evidence left behind by past children and the place occupied by childhood in bygone societies? It is easy for archaeologists to claim that children did not often leave a definitive imprint in the archaeological remains and, therefore, to toss the issue into the too-hard basket.³⁷ Certainly, for example, children are sometimes absent from the formal burial record. Sometimes it is difficult, depending on the context of deposition, to be sure whether miniature vessels and terracotta figurines are children's playthings or ritual votives. And nearly always we are faced with problems in distinguishing in the archaeological record the products of children's labour from that of adults.³⁸ If, however, we are as archaeologists to make a real attempt to put children back into our reconstructions of past societies, we must accept, and work with, three fundamental principles. First, that children were present as a major constituent of the community and that they did inevitably impact on material culture. Second, that in seeking to analyse and interpret the archaeological remains we must consciously strive to incorporate children into our deliberations and

explanations. And third, that we must remember that it is the patterns created in material culture by the producers and consumers that are often most useful for understanding past communities: thus, for example, if within a specific culture children are present in formal burials in certain chronological periods but not in others, or if again the frequency of the representation of the child in the art of a particular culture changes markedly over time, then we need to ask what this may imply about the shifting status, concept and place of the child in that society.³⁹ Furthermore, in seeking to recover and understand childhood in the past we must cross-examine our archaeological evidence with three key cultural filters in mind: namely gender, age and social status, all of which contributed to the varying experience and social perception of childhood.

Since those stimulating conference gatherings of the mid-1990s on the fledgling archaeology of childhood, a further body of significant scholarship has accumulated: this includes, but is not limited to, work on the material culture and bioarchaeology of childhood death and burial,⁴⁰ the archaeology of age and of childhood gender,⁴¹ and the iconography of children and childhood.⁴² It is to this last category of analysis that this book aims to offer a further contribution.

1.4 Scope and aims of the present work

The review just offered of scholarship on ancient Greek children and childhood, the history of childhood, and the archaeology of childhood, makes it clear that any worthwhile attempt to make a contribution to ancient childhood studies must needs adopt a multi-disciplinary approach. The focus of the present study is on the use of iconography as a tool via which to advance our understanding of Athenian children and childhood during the Archaic and Classical periods. Iconography alone provides, however, an incomplete and sometimes skewed record: it is, for example, inadequate to inform us about the mortuary treatment accorded to those who died before they reached adulthood, an aspect of society which is able to tell us much about both the conceptual status and affective value of children within the community. And unlike the modern science of photography, iconography may not necessarily provide us with faithful-to-life images of children, but rather with idealised images that present socially desirable views of childhood. While this is highly significant for our study since it allows us to attempt to reconstruct Athenian society's view of children and perception of childhood, it may not always tell us as much about the actual experience of childhood. Thus, in order to supplement and balance the conclusions drawn from iconographical analysis and interpretation, I also intend in this study to incorporate other forms of material evidence where relevant and will, furthermore, make reference to ancient literary and documentary evidence as appropriate. Significant additional categories of archaeological

material able to supplement the iconographical evidence include the paraphernalia of child life such as feeding bottles, toys, school equipment and also, as already noted, the burials of those who died young. While Classical scholars have always favoured study and publication of the archaeological remains of childhood paraphernalia,⁴³ it is only recently that children's burials have begun to receive the attention they deserve. This is most strikingly exemplified by the extraordinary find in 1938 of the remains of 450 infants deposited with some 150 dogs in a well shaft on the edges of the Athenian Agora. Not considered at the time to be of major archaeological interest, the bones were subjected only to preliminary sorting and study, and were then placed in a storeroom where they sat for the next half century, until rediscovered and studied by a team of archaeologists, bioarchaeologists, and zooarchaeologists.⁴⁴ Thanks also to the work of scholars such as I. Morris and S. Houby-Nielsen, burials of children long since excavated in the Athenian Kerameikos have recently been analysed in terms of their spatial and temporal distribution, grave type, burial offerings, age of child at death and funerary ritual.⁴⁵ Most recently, in May 2008, a round table gathering at the Ecole Française in Athens treated the subject of 'L'Enfant et la Mort dans l'Antiquité'.

In our analysis and interpretation of the iconographical material, and also of all other archaeological, documentary and literary sources employed, we must stay alert to the particular nature, production and consumption of the varying categories of evidence we use. Not all these categories of evidence will present us with a homogeneous picture of childhood: indeed, some may appear to provide contradictory views of children. This, however, may emanate from the particular original function of the source under examination, and/or from its manufacture or use by a certain social group. This may be the case even within the multifarious category of iconographical evidence dependent on whether, for example, we are contemplating the image of the child in the inexpensive medium of the votive terracotta figurine or in the considerably more costly medium of the monumental stone funerary relief. The two artefact types possess disparate functions, and are manufactured from different materials and in different techniques. Furthermore while the socio-economic status of the consumers purchasing terracotta figurines may have varied widely, we can safely assert that stone funerary reliefs would not have been within the purchasing power of the lowest strata of Athenian society. All these factors may, therefore, have impacted on the way that the image of the child is presented. We may find even greater tensions between our iconographical sources for child life and the evidence of the primary written sources we call on. The danger here is that one form of evidence may as a result be given priority, while the other source is dismissed as incompatible and untrustworthy. But rather than expecting ancient Athens to provide us with a unilateral image of children and childhood, we should welcome and seek to explain apparent contradictions in the written and material

evidence as the products of different social constituencies possessed of different motivations, needs and agendas. Our primary written sources largely comprise rhetorical, philosophical and dramatic texts, composed by elite male authors. Particular care is needed in employing the evidence provided by the ancient philosophers and playwrights, whose frequent intent was not to provide a mirror image of Athenian society, but rather to advocate how life *should* be lived or to provide audiences with a dramatic, often exaggerated, foil to the day-to-day experience of the Athenian citizen. Although the iconographical evidence also seems in large part to have been produced by adult males, these men possessed a much lower social status than the philosophers, dramatists and rhetoricians of their day: some of them we know, for example, to have been metics, or foreign residents. This is particularly clear in the case of some ceramic craftsmen who signed their work with a non-Greek ethnic name such as ‘Lydos’, the Lydian, or ‘Sikelos’, the Sicilian. In addition, we must allow the likelihood that some at least of the artefact and image production was effected by adult female and juvenile apprentice craftsmen.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the market demand for figure-decorated pots, terracotta figurines, and funerary stelai bearing images of children was generated very much not only by the needs and desires of adult males, but also by those of women and children, and thus in contemplating the meaning of the objects and the images we must factor in their use and viewing by males and females, adults and children, of widely varying socio-economic, civic and ethnic statuses.

The geographical and chronological focus of this study, namely Athens in the Archaic and Classical periods, is largely determined by the richness of the iconographical evidence available here between the late seventh and the late fourth centuries BC. While much of this is due to the production of figure-decorated pottery, first in the black figure and later in the red figure and white ground styles, it is also a time when both relief-sculpted and free-standing stone votive offerings and funerary monuments are plentifully available to us, in addition to the mass-produced wares of the coroplasts’ workshops. The period covered here is also an intriguing one that saw Athens undergo many transitions, including her metamorphosis from a small city state to an imperial power, and a major political shift from oligarchic and tyrannical rule to democracy. During this time, Athenian society underwent many changes, and the experience and social construction of childhood is hardly likely to have remained doggedly constant. We, therefore, have the opportunity to assess the sometimes controversial question of diachronic change in the history of childhood in one particular corner of the ancient world.

Part One of this book, in addition to providing in the present chapter the background and introduction to the study, deals in **Chapter 2** with questions of the Athenian definition of children and childhood and the iconography of age. Sound analysis and consequent interpretation of the Athenian

iconographical record related to the subject of children rests first and foremost on our ability to correctly identify images of sub-adult figures. Because, as has already been noted, childhood is culturally constructed, we must not evaluate these images on the basis of our contemporary twenty-first-century perception of childhood and how its various component ages and stages might therefore be expressed in art. Rather we must first, by drawing on the evidence of the ancient literary and supplementary archaeological sources, attempt to determine how Athenian society defined children and childhood. In this endeavour we must be sensitive to the possible existence of multiple Athenian childhoods, divided along the lines of gender and/or social class. With these considerations in mind, [Chapter 2](#) proceeds to advance a methodology for the analysis and interpretation of childhood age in Athenian iconography, a methodology which will be subsequently employed throughout the present work. In [Part Two](#), the juvenile life course is treated according to two of the three major stages of childhood and youth recognised by Athenian society: namely, birth and infancy ([Chapter 3](#)), and the developing childhood stage between the third year of life and the onset of puberty ([Chapter 4](#)). A consideration of adolescence, the period between the onset of puberty and the attainment of adulthood, which was differentially defined for male and female, will form the subject of a future book by the present author.

Throughout this book my aim is to employ a contextualised iconographical study in order to uncover something, on one hand, of the child's experience of childhood and, on the other hand, of Athenian society's construction of childhood as a life stage and a social category. I also hope to recover something of the adult Athenian's view of children as those with whom he/she engaged on a private and individual level.

ATHENIAN DEFINITIONS OF CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD, AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF AGE

As we have already established in [Chapter 1](#), childhood is culturally constructed. That is to say, while all young people, regardless of temporal and/or geographical locus, share the same immature biological, physiological and developmental characteristics that are experienced between birth and puberty, there exists by contrast a considerable variation from one culture to another in the social perception of childhood as a stage (or stages) of life, in the recognised length of its duration, and in the place it is accorded within society. Inevitably, this culture-specific view of childhood impacts on the visual representation of children in figured art. This is not to say that Greek art *illustrates* Greek social attitudes. Nevertheless, art constitutes the externalised expression of modes of visualisation at an individual and/or collective level, and it is these modes of visualisation that are strongly influenced by the social context in which they develop. If then we apply our own twenty-first-century Western modes of visualisation to the artistic images of ancient Greek children, we run a very serious risk that our interpretation of these images will be constructed in terms of the contemporary Western, not ancient Athenian, vision of what it is to be a child. Any attempts to analyse the images of childhood produced by ancient Athenian artists and craftsmen must, therefore, begin with an effort to recover Athenian views and definitions of childhood, and subsequently endeavour to apply these concepts in a bid to decode and understand the iconography of children.

In seeking to reveal Athenian society's views of children and childhood, recourse to the ancient literary sources is highly instructive. Much valuable work on this subject has been undertaken by M. Golden, and it is the results of his research which I briefly highlight here.¹ Very frequently authors of the fifth and fourth centuries BC characterise children by contrasting them with adults, particularly the adult male. Usually the comparison with the adult male is an unfavourable one, with the young being judged to be morally, physically and intellectually inferior to the man. However, the contrast between the child and the adult woman is less pronounced, and indeed children and women are said to share some characteristics such as limited intellectual capacity and the inability to control their feelings and behaviour. But

while the wildness of children and women renders them the antithesis of the civilised adult citizen male, it also places them in a propitious relationship with nature and the gods, an aspect which helps contextualise the important roles accorded females and juveniles in Athenian religion and ritual. (More will be said on this subject in [Chapter 4](#).)

Particularly significant for our analysis of the iconography of children is the comparison in the ancient written sources of the inferior physique of the child with the superior body of the adult male and, furthermore, the perceived similarities between the physique of the male child and that of the adult woman. The following quote from Aristotle illustrates this point:

Now a boy is like a woman in form, and the woman is as it were an impotent male, for it is through a certain incapacity that the female is female, being incapable of concocting the nutriment in its last stage into semen.

Generation of Animals 728a 17–21 (trans. A. Platt)²

Impotency, therefore, is perceived as a critical factor that separates women and children of both sexes from the adult male. We must then remain vigilant to the potential impact of this Athenian concept of gender on the artistic presentation of the child figure, and two pertinent examples of the resulting gender modification of iconography may be given here. The first concerns the gestures that children are shown performing in Athenian vase painting. In this regard, T. McNiven notes examples of boys who mourn in the unrestrained fashion of women by weeping or tearing their hair, thus expressing their juvenile inability to maintain emotional control in contrast to the measured expression of mourning by men who raise only their right arm in valediction. McNiven therefore suggests that ‘by linking children’s gestures to those of women, boys as well as girls were feminised and thus separated from the world of men’.³ The second example of the gender modification of the iconography of children is again best demonstrated by vase painting. When in the late fifth and early fourth centuries the use of added white paint made a return to the decorative schemata of Athenian figured vases, it was used to distinguish not only adult female figures but also very young children, both female and male.⁴ Little boys are again, therefore, seen to be characterised together with the female, while by contrast the skin of older boys, whose masculine gender intensifies as they develop and mature, is untouched by white paint. Analysis both of the representation of gesture and of the use of added white paint in red-figure vase painting thus indicates that Athenian concepts of gender did indeed impact on the artistic presentation of the child. These studies, furthermore, show the existence, both conceptually and as expressed in art, of a dynamic relationship between gender and the increasing age of the growing child: gender was not fixed immutably at birth, but rather developed and shifted as the years passed.

In the same way that gender constructs can be seen to modify the iconographical presentation of the child, so also Athenian considerations of social status and its manifestations in art have implications for our understanding of the representation of the sub-adult figure. M. Golden has pointed out that children are frequently characterised not only are together with women in the ancient written sources, but also with slaves: all three groups are perceived as suffering from a limited capacity for reasoned thought and are at the mercy of undesirable natural tendencies, such as unruly appetites and pleasures.⁵ He notes that, at least from the time of Aischylos, the word *pais* was used to denote both a child and a slave: it was also used to refer to the junior, passive partner in a male homosexual couple. *Pais*, therefore, carries with it the connotation of inferior status. It is then significant that in Athenian iconography the artistic convention which may be used to depict both slaves and children is that of a diminutive figure, suggesting that diminution of size signifies inferior status, in terms of both immature age and/or social class.⁶

In view, therefore, of the polysemic nature of Athenian artistic conventions such as the diminution of size, how are we to set about identifying the child figure in Athenian art? Although I earlier referred to the attempt to understand the iconography of childhood as a bid to decode the images before us, it is worth bearing in mind here the wise words of E.B. Harrison: 'As we all know, iconography is not a code, where one symbol has one meaning, but a language, where the meaning of each word is affected by the context in which it appears.'⁷ It is thus this nuanced Athenian artistic language of childhood that we must seek to recover: not only the depiction of physical stature and bodily form, but also any age-specific indicators provided by an analysis of aspects such as dress, hair, gesture and attributes. Before embarking on this attempt, however, we should first seek to inform our discussion of the iconographical language of childhood by attempting to determine the Athenian perception of the ages and stages of childhood development, both biological and social.

2.1 Age and the stages of childhood in Athens

In order to begin to comprehend the ancient Athenian attitude to the phenomenon of age, it is important to acknowledge that a contrast exists with our own contemporary Western obsession with, and reliance on, precise chronological age. This is demonstrated in many ways: first and foremost, perhaps, in the recording of our precise dates of birth and death on official certificates and also on our tombstones where, furthermore, the age in years of the deceased is often added. We also, for example, mark the precise anniversary of our birth date and the maturing of our lives in years in annual birthday celebrations held on the same day every year.⁸ Our name and our date of birth together represent our unique individual identity, and indeed

are used as such at official state level to distinguish one member of society from another. To the ancient Athenians, however, this system of treating, experiencing and marking the passage of human life would probably have seemed very strange. The ancient Greeks produced no birth certificates and, in official terms at least, there could have been no completely watertight way of checking on the precise age of individuals. At least from the time of the introduction of the Athenian democratic system such pronounced individuation may, furthermore, have been as undesirable as it was unobtainable, and indeed, from at least the first half of the fourth century BC in the military context, the adult citizen male from his eighteenth year on was identified according to his membership of a communally designated age class which served as the basis for his call-up to military service.⁹ Even within the private, family context there seems to have been little concern regarding the specific age of family members: only a few exceptional Athenian tombstones make, for example, any reference to the age of the dead, and in these few cases it is usually to mark the death of a young or a very old person.¹⁰ Precise age as experienced within the range of a normal lifespan does not seem to have been a matter of great interest.

This, however, is not to say that the Athenians were unconcerned with their age as individuals *relative* to those around them. This is already clear from the previously mentioned requirement that from the time he attained legal majority in his eighteenth year an Athenian citizen male should belong with his peers for military purposes to an officially designated age class. And from infancy onwards, the Athenian child was expected to take his/her place in the community by passing through a number of recognised stages *together* with his/her peers. Such, for example, was the case of the participation by Athenian children in their third year in the Choes festival (discussed in detail in [Chapter 3.3](#)), which formed part of the larger Anthesteria celebrations. These were occasions when *homelikia* or approximate sameness of age, give or take some months, was necessary. This does then beg the question of how, if the individual's precise date of birth was not officially recorded, *homelikia* was established for ritual, legal, civic or military purposes.

In this context M. Golden has drawn attention to a passage in the *Laws* of Plato:

For everyone the first year is the beginning of the whole life: it ought to be inscribed as life's beginning for both boy and girl in their ancestral shrines: beside it, on a whited wall in every phratry, there should be written up the number of the archons who gave its number to the year.¹¹

Laws 6.785a

Just as the annually elected eponymous *archon*, or chief magistrate, gave his name to the Athenian year and so identified it in the Athenian calendrical

system, Golden suggests that it may have been the recording of the *archon* year of the child's birth by its father's *phratry*, or ancestral kinship group, that enabled the child's *homelikia*, or approximate sameness of age, to subsequently be established. We know from a variety of ancient literary and documentary sources that Athenian children were indeed introduced to their father's *phratry* on the occasion of the Apatouria festival, though it should also be said that a great deal of scholarly debate has centred on the timing of this introduction.¹² It is also clear that certainly by the time of the establishment of the democratic system the Athenian state possessed some means of determining when a youth reached the age of legal majority. Golden's suggestion, therefore, that the *phratry* recorded the *archon* year of the child's birth, though not its precise individual birthday, seems reasonable. The stele of Dexileos from the Athenian Kerameikos, identifying the *archon* years of both the deceased's birth and his death, lends credence to this theory.¹³ Nevertheless, it may perhaps be more likely that the *archon* year recorded by the *phratry* was the year in which the infant was ritually introduced to its kinship group. Though on most occasions this would be the same year as that in which the child was born, the introduction may in some cases have been delayed, thus generating the need for the *dokimasia*, or formal examination, of youths presenting themselves supposedly in their eighteenth year for enrolment in the citizen registers.¹⁴

Inevitably, such a relatively inexact way of reckoning age meant that children and youths sharing the same *homelikia* and yet born at different times in the *archon* year could, in precise chronological terms, be separated by an absolute age gap of almost twelve months. It is also important to note that while *homelikia* was significant for the passage of the Athenian child through certain key transitions on the route to adulthood, Athenian society at the same time recognised that the maturation of the young person was also dependent on his/her movement through a series of developmental phases which were biologically and/or socially defined, and which were not necessarily experienced by all children at exactly the same age. The age groups to which we find references in the ancient Athenian written sources, and which relate to these stages in a child's life, therefore generally appear to have had a broad and flexible range in year-age terms. Furthermore, what quickly becomes noticeable in examining the ancient vocabulary used to describe the age-related stages in a child's development is the imprecision and overlapping of the semantic content of many of the terms employed.¹⁵ Rather than wrestling with the specific details of this terminology it may therefore, as a precursor to an analysis of the iconographic presentation of childhood age, be more useful to describe the major biologically and socially defined stages that Athenian society recognised the child as passing through on its way to attaining adulthood.

As noted above, *pais*, when not used to denote a slave or the junior partner in a male homosexual couple, was the word commonly used to refer to

a child: that is, a boy below the age of legal majority and a girl before marriage. Infancy was, naturally, considered to be the earliest phase of life, and terms used to identify a child at this age stage included *nepios*. The ancient written sources suggest that the ability to walk and talk, together with the acquisition of teeth and weaning, qualified transition from infancy to the next life stage, a stage that we might in today's parlance refer to as 'early childhood'.¹⁶ This transition seems to have been celebrated in the child's third year by its participation in the previously mentioned Choes festival.¹⁷ On this occasion the child for the first time was recognised as a ritual actor, rather than a passive ritual bystander, in the religious life of the community, and was thus also for the first time acknowledged outside the context of the *oikos*, or family unit, and the *phratry*, or ancestral kinship group, as possessing a wider social persona. In a pre-modern society devoid of the healthcare we take so much for granted today, the participation of the child in the Choes festival must also for the family have provided an occasion for rejoicing that its young member had survived the dangerous early months of life.

Following infancy, the early childhood phase extended approximately until the age of seven. During these years the child grew and developed largely within the private world of the Athenian *oikos*. These seem to have been years shared by male and female offspring in the company of their mother and other female relatives and their attendants: the father, occupied with the demands of generating and maintaining the family income and of participation in public life, was probably in most cases a more remote figure. While the household may have been the main locus for the daily life of young Athenians, both boys and girls, some gendered differentiation in childhood experience is suggested by Xenophon's observation that it was common practice in the ancient Greek world to place boys in the care of a *paidogogos*, or male care-taker, as soon as they could understand language.¹⁸ The boy was, therefore, provided with regular interaction with a man while his life was yet centred on the largely female sphere of the household. Furthermore, when we shortly turn to examine the iconographical indicators of the various phases of childhood, we will also find that it is in the early childhood stage that boys and girls regularly adopt gender-specific ways of displaying or clothing the body. This, then, should once again alert us to the potential impact of gender on the perception, definition and experience of childhood and on the way in which childhood was presented iconographically.

Increasing gender specificity resulted in the marked divergence of the treatment and experience of childhood from the seventh year onwards. At this point the male child's preparation for his ultimate incorporation into the Athenian citizen state began in earnest with the commencement of his education in reading, writing, music and athletics, provided his family possessed the economic wherewithal to pay for such lessons.¹⁹ This took the boy beyond the bounds of the family home, though under the watchful eye of his *paidogogos*, to the gymnasium and to the private educational

establishments of the *grammatistes*, or letter teacher, and *kitharistes*, or music master, where he would be taught together with other lads.²⁰ As the boy's social network and experience of community life thus began to expand, the girl by contrast remained rooted in the more narrowly defined environment of the family home, where her life's training unfolded: her growing years involved learning from her mother and other female relatives the domestic skills and knowledge she would need on the day that she was separated from her paternal home and removed to that of her husband. However, the process of her acculturation to womanhood, in civic and secular terms an essentially private and unsung affair, was arguably more intensely celebrated and facilitated than that of the boy via the agency of religious ritual, at least in the years leading up to and marking the onset of puberty (see [Chapter 4.5](#)).

The arrival at puberty effected a fundamental change in the biological and social status both of male and, particularly, of female and propelled the child into the next phase of maturation, a phase which we might term 'adolescence'. Although the Athenians recognised that this did not occur at the same age for all children, it seems to have been accepted that the majority of youth, male and female alike, experienced puberty around their thirteenth or fourteenth year.²¹ The onset of puberty in the case of a girl confirmed her biological potential to bear children, and thus transformed her social status into that of a marriageable *parthenos*, or maiden. The state of *parthenia*, or female adolescence, seems to have been short-lived. Marriage, followed swiftly by first parturition, signalled the end of the transitional adolescent phase and catapulted the *parthenos* into the adult ranks of the Athenian women. Those who had been betrothed already as young children probably married very soon after their arrival at puberty and certainly *epikleroi*, or heiresses, under the state's protection were, according to Aristotle, required to marry in their fourteenth year.²² Many other girls seem to have become brides while still in their mid teens and, since Athenian males were by contrast far older when they married, their husbands were often twice their age.²³ Female childhood, then, came to an end not at an official, state-defined chronological age, but rather when both the biological (puberty) and social (marriage and motherhood) criteria of womanhood had been fulfilled.

By contrast, the child to adult transition for the male was not only effected by the satisfaction of biological and social criteria, but also required the attainment of civic and legal rights and responsibilities at particular state-designated points in his maturation. As a result, his adolescence was a far more protracted affair. The boy's incorporation into the world of the adult male naturally advanced a major step at puberty. Frequently the teenage years following puberty witnessed the future Athenian citizen enter a paed-erastic homosexual liaison with an adult male. His earlier extra-familial interaction with men while still a prepubescent child had largely been limited to his teachers, *paidogogos*, servants and slaves: now his adolescent relationship with an older citizen male represented his ascent to a higher level of

social interaction, and not only constituted his sexual initiation (forbidden to girls until after marriage) but also provided him with a social education related to the behaviour, standards and knowledge he should aspire to emulate on reaching adulthood.²⁴ The youth's increasing social identity was further highlighted in the ritual context of the Apatouria, a festival which centred on the Athenian *phratries*, or ancient kinship groups. Reference was made earlier to the suggestion that it was on the occasion of the Apatouria that the *phratries* recorded the *archon* year of the introduction to their ranks of recently born Athenian infants. It also seems that probably around age sixteen the youth was re-introduced to the *phratry*: on this occasion the father was required to swear an oath concerning his son's legitimacy, and the adolescent's hair was cut in the ritual of the *koureion*.²⁵ The function of this re-introduction of the juvenile to the *phratry* seems to have been two-fold. First, the symbolic cutting of the hair most probably ritually marked and celebrated the youth's pubertal state and his consequent unfolding transition from childhood to adulthood. Second, we may suggest that successful re-introduction to the *phratry* in adolescence served on one hand to verify his legitimate enrolment in its ranks, and on the other to confirm his *archon* year of birth and initial *phratry* presentation, and subsequently provided the basis for his presentation in his eighteenth year for *deme* registration and the consequent conferral of both adult and citizen status. The youth's celebration of the *koureion* and Apatouria thus seems to have ritually marked an important watershed in the recognised expansion of his biological, social, and potential civic and legal status.

From circa 370 BC onwards we possess evidence that following the enrolment in the *deme* register of the male youth in his eighteenth year, the new citizen was required to fulfil a two-year period of military training as an *ephebos*, and that not until this service was completed was he considered to be truly a man.²⁶ The rationale of the *ephebeia* seems to have been twofold: first, to provide Athens with a trained fighting force; and second, to further facilitate the transition from adolescent youth to early manhood.²⁷ In this context it is significant that although he had already been enrolled as an Athenian citizen, many of the civic and legal duties, obligations and rights of the *ephebe* were almost immediately suspended for the duration of his period of military service.²⁸ While it is true that prior to the fourth century we have no definite proof that *ephebic* service was required by the state, most modern scholars agree that the *ephebeia* already existed in some form during the fifth century, and we should, then, remain alert to its possible ramifications for the iconography of youth throughout the Classical period.²⁹

What has so far become very clear in attempting to determine how Athenian society perceived and defined both the stages and the upper boundaries of childhood is the contrast between the relative ages at which the male and female arrived at adulthood: the female, generally, considerably earlier in life than the male. There is also a marked contrast in the experience

for male and female, respectively, of the length of the transitional period between the onset of puberty and the attainment of adulthood: limited for females, extended for males. In attempting to understand the iconographical language of childhood and youth it is crucial that these factors be kept very much in mind, not only because they have significant implications for the semantic interpretation of the iconographical age indicators used for male and female figures respectively, but also because they demonstrate and serve as a reminder that it was first and foremost the individual's developmental stage, rather than his/her specific age in years, that endowed him/her with a particular and recognisable status. In seeking to interpret the age iconography of childhood and youth we should, therefore, not only be looking for clues to the biological age of the figures, but should also aim to analyse the iconographical context and attributes which help to define the life stage and social status of those figures. However, before we attempt to do just this, we must briefly pause to consider the impact on the perception, experience and iconographical presentation of childhood of socio-economic class which, like gender, constitutes a fundamental social variable.

To this point, our discussion has focused almost exclusively on the offspring of well-to-do Athenian citizen families. This in large part is because the biased nature of the ancient written sources means that we are provided with far more information about their lives than about those situated on the lower rungs of the Athenian social ladder: that is, the children of the poorest citizen families, and also the offspring of metics, servants and slaves. Furthermore, as R. Garland has succinctly pointed out, 'The economically depressed and the socially downtrodden have neither the motivation, leisure nor means to dramatise life's divisions as do those who enjoy high economic and social status.'³⁰ It is, therefore, very likely that the children of poor, non-citizen or slave families were, through the necessity of being put out to work as soon as they were physically able, in some ways integrated into the adult world at a much earlier age than their more socially and economically favoured counterparts. Nevertheless, it is also likely that less acute gender differentiation at the lowest social levels, based at least in part on the female as well as the male child's capacity to contribute economically valuable labour, meant that girls of poorer/inferior background may generally have married later than the daughters of socially elite families and thus did not have full womanhood, in the form of a husband and childbearing duties, thrust upon them at quite the same tender age.³¹ Unlike the ancient written evidence, the very nature of iconography, and not least the widely divergent social standing and life experience of its producers and consumers, renders it a rich source in which to search for reflections not only of the children of the citizen elite but also of those of the socially and politically disadvantaged. However, numerous problems and challenges must be faced. We earlier noted that the iconography both of age and of social class shares one particular artistic convention, namely diminution of size to indicate inferiority of the status of one figure relative to

another. This, as we shall see in [Chapter 4.2](#), often presents difficulties when we attempt to distinguish between the representation of adult servants/slaves and that of children, including servant/slave children. But, recalling E.B. Harrison's earlier quoted analogy of iconography as a language, where the meaning of each word is modified by the context in which it occurs, we must seek clarification by establishing what other visual indicators of age and/or status were employed by Athenian artists.

2.2 Iconographical indicators of age

Scholarly efforts to understand the iconographical language of youthful age have to date been relatively few and far between. In 1988 C. Sourvinou-Inwood attempted to establish criteria for the interpretation of childhood age in Athenian vase painting in *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*. While this was a valuable and thought-provoking early foray into a subject which was at that time little considered, the validity of the author's iconographical observations was at times compromised by her broader scholarly agenda, that is the desire to prove that the girls who participated in the *arkteia* ritual in honour of Artemis and who are represented on a number of Athenian figured vases, were aged between five and ten years old. The main age signs examined in this work were height, breasts, proportion of head size to body, convex profile of torso, and chubbiness of face, limbs and body.³²

In 1993 C. Clairmont produced his *magnum opus* on *Classical Attic Tombstones*, and in the Introductory Volume to this extraordinary work set out his criteria, based largely on variations in dress and coiffure, for the allocation to three broad age groups of child figures depicted on grave stelai: babies up to the age of one or two years, young children from one or two to ten or twelve years, and male and female youths from twelve to seventeen years. He also identified an additional youthful male category, that of the *ephebes* aged between seventeen or eighteen and nineteen or twenty. While Clairmont's observations on the age-related indications of hair and dress are most valuable, he did not, however, give sufficient weight to the concept of social, rather than rigidly defined chronological, age and, furthermore, did not take into account the impact of gender on the social construction of age. His assignation, therefore, of female youths to a single iconographic category covering the age range of twelve to seventeen years seems to ignore the Athenian perception of the juncture between girlhood and womanhood as being reliant on marriage and childbirth, and thus the construction of adulthood as a stage of life into which many girls would have passed before they reached the chronological age of seventeen.³³

In 1994 the present author attempted a critical exploration of the iconography of age in Athenian pictorial and plastic representations of children between the Late Archaic and Late Classical periods.³⁴ While that original

study still forms the core of the theoretical and methodological approach that is adopted in this chapter, the expansion of the study to incorporate the recent observations of other scholars, such as L.J. Roccas, T.J. McNiven and G. Ferrari, concerning specific youthful age indicators such as dress, gestures and hair, allows a more nuanced understanding of the iconography of childhood age to emerge.³⁵ Furthermore, work undertaken between 1994 and the present by C.L. Lawton on children depicted on votive reliefs and by S. Houby-Nielsen on the expression of childhood age in the burial record has facilitated the addition of significant supplementary categories of material to this attempt to recover the Athenian perception and presentation of the major stages of childhood.³⁶ A paper published by R. Vollkommer in 2000, 'Mythological children in Archaic art: On the problem of age differentiation for small children', also reminds us that the iconography of childhood age was not static in the period under study (late seventh to late fourth centuries BC), and that we must therefore pay due attention to diachronic shifts and developments in the representation of the child figure.³⁷

I now propose to explore the following six categories of iconographical criteria via which we might seek to establish the approximate age or life stage of children depicted in Athenian art:

- Size, height and bodily forms
- Hair length, facial and body hair
- Dress
- Gestures
- Attributes
- Compositional relationship of figures

Size, height and bodily forms

These can be 'read' with caution as a clue to the age or life stage of a youthful figure, but should never be used as the sole determining factor. Often a child is depicted as a figure smaller than his or her adult companions and, generally speaking, the more diminutive the child figure, the more youthful (s)he is intended to be. It does not, however, follow that figures of reduced stature are always to be interpreted as being of childhood age. As was noted earlier, a single artistic convention, such as diminution of size, can, depending on the context in which it is employed, carry one of a number of meanings. Reduced stature may, therefore, signify childhood age, but alternatively it may indicate servile as opposed to free status, or mortal as opposed to divine status.³⁸ Conversely, simply because a youthful figure is represented as equal in stature to his or her adult companions, it does not always follow that (s)he has already attained manhood or womanhood. This can, for example, be seen in some Athenian red figure examples of schoolroom scenes in which the young pupils possess stature equal to that of their bearded adult

teachers.³⁹ In such cases, the childhood status of the figure in question may, however, find clarification in the application of the other iconographical criteria we consider below.

The representation of human physique and musculature must also be approached with a degree of caution when attempting to interpret the iconography of age. As already noted, age iconography is subject to chronological variation, and it is generally the case that children in Athenian art are depicted as miniature adults prior to the fifth century BC. Not until the last quarter of the fifth century does a distinct juvenile body ideal, consisting of chubbier limbs, softer and less well muscled physique and larger head, become commonplace in Athenian figured art for infants and young children, who may now also be seen to adopt childlike behaviours and postures such as crawling.⁴⁰ We must, however, remember that even following these developments there naturally existed a great range in the artistic abilities of the producers of such images, painted and sculpted alike: it is, therefore, inappropriate to attempt to establish narrowly rigid criteria, such as specific proportions for head size to body, as a means to evaluate the age of the child figures depicted.⁴¹

For the female figure, the possession of breasts can be taken as an indication of womanhood, or at least of puberty, while a pre-pubertal child is conversely nearly always depicted as flat chested. I say ‘nearly always’ because very rarely, as in the case of the Sappho Painter’s black figure funerary plaque in the Louvre, an apparently pre-pubertal girl may be depicted with breasts (see Fig. 2.2).⁴² On the Sappho Painter’s plaque, I refer to the small female figure standing by the head of the bier and identified by an inscription as *adelphē*, or sister, of the deceased. She is one of three children represented in the *prothesis* scene, the other two being a small boy who clutches the foot of the bier and a second girl in front of him. All three are smaller than the mourning adults, but the different heights of the children would seem to indicate their age relative to one another: the boy smallest and youngest, the girl in front of him tallest and oldest of the three, and the girl at the head of the bier midway in height between the boy and second girl. In her case, therefore, the depiction of breasts is suggested by Sourvinou-Inwood to function as an indicator of her gender rather than of her age. While this may be so, there seems little justification for Sourvinou-Inwood’s added qualification of the breasts on this and certain other figures of young girls as ‘budding’, thus creating an iconographic category half-way between full-breasted and flat-chested females.⁴³ Though Athenian artists certainly distinguished between female figures with breasts and those with flat chests, there appears to me to be no evidence that they attempted to depict different degrees of bustiness! Rather it seems more likely that the possession of breasts by the Sappho Painter’s girl may be explained as a feature of her depiction as a miniature adult which, as we have already noted, was the accepted schema employed for the representation of children during the Archaic period.



Figure 2.1 Attic black figure plaque, Paris, Louvre MNB 905, Sappho Painter, ca 500–490 BC. Photo: © 1970 Musée du Louvre/Pierre et Maurice Chuzeville.

Hair length, and facial and body hair

While the representation in art of facial and body hair is relevant only to male figures, that of hair length and hair style is pertinent to both male and female. I shall, therefore, deal first with the hirsute iconographical indications of male age, and then examine the clues to female life stage provided by hair length and style.

In biological terms facial hair only appears following puberty, and at Athens the growth of a full beard, which Aristotle tells us did not usually occur until the male was twenty-one, was a mark of both biological and social manhood.⁴⁴ In iconography, therefore, the mature male is shown as bearded while the boy is shown as smooth cheeked. Sometimes the post-pubertal life stage of a young male figure is indicated by the appearance on his cheeks of ‘bum fluff’ or an incipient beard. This is particularly noticeable in red figure iconography between about 510 and 470 BC. At this time many of the youths depicted with fledgling facial hair are shown in the role of *erastes*, or lover, of younger boys (see [Fig. 2.2](#)). Others are shown arming, or participate in the revelry of a *komos* scene that presents post-symposion revels.⁴⁵ The pictorial context would, therefore, suggest that the representation of ‘bum fluff’ on the cheeks of a male youth usually indicates that he has passed beyond the limits of minority status and has already reached at least his eighteenth year when in civic, legal, military and social terms he was accorded new roles and responsibilities not appropriate to the status of those who were still *paides*, or boys. Nevertheless, his lack of a beard expressed and symbolised the continuation of certain juvenile features in his identity, and

further extended his journey towards the attainment of full social manhood by several years.⁴⁶ In this context, therefore, it is worth recalling that in Greek agonistic competition, both at Athens and beyond, the participants were often divided into three broad age bands: the *paides*, or boys; the *ageneioi*, or unbearded; and the *andres*, or men. While scholars have been unable to agree on the age boundaries that separated these three categories, I would suggest that at least with reference to Athens's own Panathenaic Games it is possible to view the Athenian iconographic evidence as an indication that the *ageneioi*, or unbearded, competitors were those who had already legally come of age but who were regarded socially as not yet being mature men: perhaps, therefore, those of *ephebic* age between the ages of eighteen and about twenty-one.⁴⁷

Like facial hair, the growth of body hair commences following the onset of puberty. In iconographical terms adult male figures, both painted and sculpted, are often represented with a growth of pubic hair (see Fig. 4.26). Hair may also sometimes be indicated on the pubic area of pubertal male youths, while the groin of prepubescent boys remains smooth.⁴⁸

Kephalic hair length and style as an indicator of male age or life stage is a far more complicated issue. First, unlike facial or pubic hair, its appearance is not dependent on reaching sexual maturity. And second, as pointed out by D.D. Leitaο, hair-growing, cutting and styling encompasses a range of 'performative possibilities' not restricted to expression of age or life stage,



Figure 2.2 Attic red figure *kylix*, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F2279, Peithinos, ca 500 BC. Photo: bpk/Antikensammlung, SMB/Johannes Laurentius.

but related also to gender, ritual significance, socio-economic class and fashion.⁴⁹ In terms of ritual, there seem to have been several occasions when hair might have been offered. Pausanias (1.37.2) says that boys dedicated their hair to the River Kephissos, and cites Homer to demonstrate that this was a tradition followed by all Greeks from ancient times. Athenian youths might also dedicate their locks to Apollo at Delphi, and two third-century BC sources further tell us that *ephebes* dedicated their hair and poured a libation to Herakles.⁵⁰ Furthermore, a hair-cutting ritual that may have been enacted by all prospective citizen males when they reached sixteen was that of the *koureion* performed at the *phratry* festival of the Apatouria, when the hair was dedicated to Artemis and wine was offered to Herakles.⁵¹ As discussed earlier, this ritual probably functioned at least in part to mark and celebrate the youth's pubertal state, and his consequent ever-increasing proximity to mature male status, as indeed symbolised by the wine he now sacrificed to Herakles.

While hair-cutting was, therefore, undoubtedly an important feature of an Athenian boyhood and youth, it is, perhaps not unsurprisingly, in view of the numerous possible occasions when cutting might take place, very difficult to make a link between these cultural practices and corresponding iconographical indicators of age. E.B. Harrison has, however, detected on at least some, usually sculptural, male figures the presence of special locks of hair which she identifies as being specific to life stage.⁵² Arguing from Plutarch's *Theseus* (5.1–2), in which the hero on coming of age dedicates at Delphi the front locks of his hair while leaving the rest long, she suggests that this practice was already current in the sixth century and that this hairstyle, which can be seen on many Archaic *kouroi*, was therefore that usually sported on reaching early adulthood. In the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods she perceives in sculpture an increasing emphasis on age differentiation according to hairstyle: interestingly, this is the same period for which I earlier in my discussion of facial hair traced an increasing emphasis on youthful male age differentiation in vase painting. Thus in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC Harrison suggests that *paides*, who have as yet uncut locks, wear their hair bound up or knotted on the forehead: she identifies the Kritios Boy as a case in point.⁵³ The *ephebic*, or young adult, style with its cut front locks now witnesses the binding of the remaining long hair on the back of the head or, alternatively, it is braided and wound around the head: she points to the Blond Boy as a good example.⁵⁴ In the Early Classical period, as shorter hair comes increasingly into fashion, she observes that boys still sport a long lock of uncut hair on the front of the head, where it is sometimes knotted over the forehead: a feature which she observes as being present in the case of the young naked athlete who crowns himself on the well-known Early Classical votive relief from Sounion.⁵⁵ In Athenian vase painting I can, by contrast, find no evidence for male hair styles being indicative of age in the same way.⁵⁶ This may, however, be related to the difference

in medium and function of the two artefact classes. The sculptural pieces discussed by Harrison belong to the ritual sphere, being mostly either votive dedications or funerary markers, in which context the young male's identity would have been presented in a way that highlighted his respect for, and observance of, ritual markers of maturation such as hair-growing and hair-cutting in honour of the gods. Vases and their images, on the other hand, serve a much wider range of functions in both the secular and the religious contexts, and do not in the same way commemorate, honour or mark the piety of an individual and, by association, of his family.

In contrast to male hair length or style, which does not always in iconography clearly indicate age or life stage, female hair length and style provides the viewer with a distinct indication of the *parthenos*, or maiden, stage and therefore sets apart this figure from younger, prepubescent girls or biologically and socially mature adult women. *Parthenoi* sport either long hair which is allowed to fall freely about the head and shoulders, such as in the case of the Archaic *korai*, or alternatively their long hair is restrained in a braid which extends down the back, such as in the case of the Erechtheion karyatids. Both hairstyles are common to sculpture and to vase painting. Additionally in vase images dating to the second quarter of the fifth century, and perhaps reflective of a contemporary fashion in female coiffure, *parthenoi* may embellish the braid by wrapping its ends in a cloth band before then turning the lower braid back on itself and tying it in place.⁵⁷ Prepubescent girls do not usually have such long hair as *parthenoi*: indeed, in some cases it is quite short. Regardless of length, the hair of these younger girls may be left loose, or may be gathered up on to the back of the head in a knot in a fashion not dissimilar to that of the mature woman, whose hair is always restrained and not infrequently obscured by some form of head covering: the head covering is, however, not worn by pre-adult females. In the fourth century young girls may also sport the elaborate so-called 'melon' coiffure.

As in the case of males, females cut their hair on certain ritual occasions. One of these occasions was the eve of their marriage, when the sacrifice to Artemis of at least some of the luxurious kephalic growth of maidenhood most likely symbolised the imminent restraining effect of marriage on the girl's perceived wild nature as well as her hair.⁵⁸ Another ritual occasion for which females cut their hair was the mourning of a deceased family member: in iconographical terms, therefore, we must stay alert to the possibility that a juvenile or adult woman engaged in the act of mourning may be represented with short hair in order to indicate not her age status but rather her participation in the central ritual.⁵⁹ Furthermore, since short hair may again point to servile status, we must seek to interpret this iconographical feature by qualifying its meaning via an examination of such aspects as the relevant figure's dress, size, bodily forms, attributes, gestures and compositional context.⁶⁰

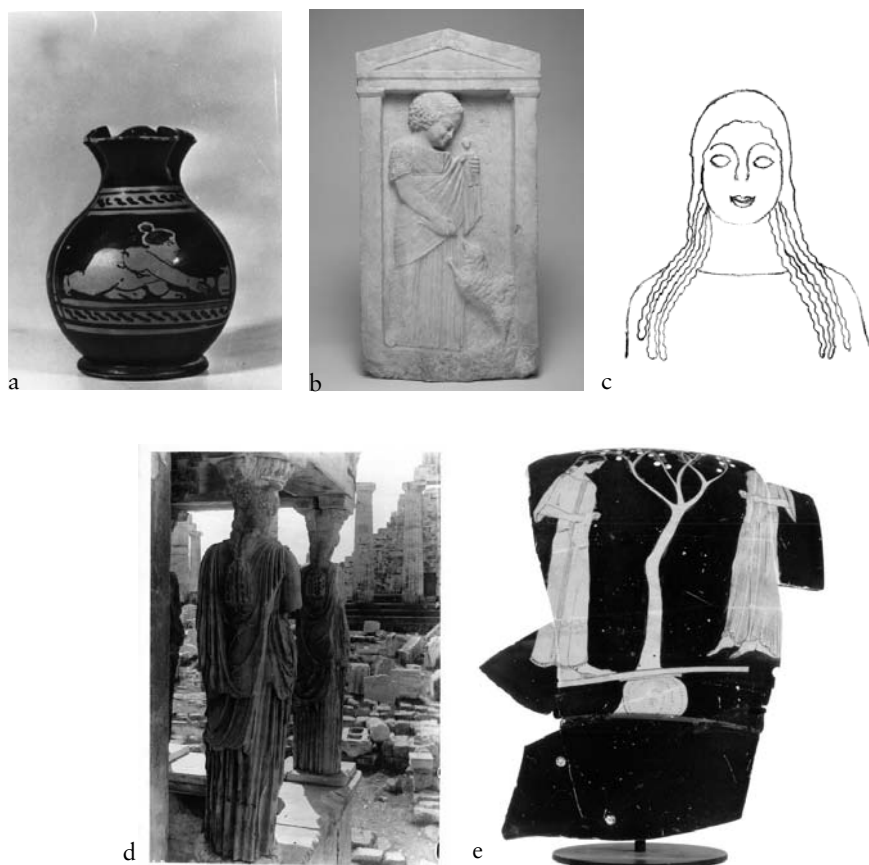


Figure 2.3 (a–e) Characteristic hairstyles of prepubescent girls (a–b) and of *parthenoi* (c–e). (a) Attic red figure *chous*, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1739, ca 410–400 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund. (b) Attic grave stele of a young girl 'Melisto', Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing and Gifts for Special Uses in Memory of Katherine Brewster Taylor, as a tribute to her many years at the Fogg Museum, 1961.86, ca 340 BC. Photo: Junius Beebe © President and Fellows of Harvard College. (c) Characteristic Archaic *kore* type. Line drawing: L.A. Beaumont. (d) Athens, Akropolis, Erechtheion *karyatids*, rear view, ca 420–406 BC. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives, William B. Dinsmoor Papers. (e) Attic red figure column *krater* fragment, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund and Museum purchase with funds donated by contribution, 10.191a, Leningrad Painter, ca 470–460 BC. Photo: © 2011 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Dress

Dress, like hairstyle, provides us with a generally clearer indication of the age stage of the young female figure than it does for the male. In the earliest phase of childhood, however, the costume of boys and girls is the same, with babies shown naked or, less commonly, swaddled (see Fig. 2.6a).⁶¹ While many older infant girls may also be shown naked, some are already dressed in the costume which in the late fifth and fourth centuries, particularly in the sculptural medium, becomes characteristic for depiction of the post-infant, prepubescent life stage: that is the long *chiton*, or dress, girdled high just below the chest and held in place by either shoulder straps or cross bands, the latter often being attached to a central brooch (see Fig. 2.4a).⁶² Adult women are, by contrast, represented wearing the girdle around their waist. We also know from the ancient literary sources that girls offered their girdle to Artemis on the occasion of their marriage, in symbolic anticipation of the unloosing on their wedding night of their girdle by their husband in the consummation of their union. Subsequently the girdle would again be unloosed, metaphorically and in practice, in the process of giving birth to a baby.⁶³ The girdle, therefore, was closely associated with the female's sexual status and development, and the special high girdle worn by the prepubescent girl in late fifth- and fourth-century iconography, as can for example be seen on the figure of Melisto in Fig. 2.3b, was surely symbolic of her sexual immaturity. Similarly, an alternative form of dress worn by young girls, namely the ungirt short *chiton*, may in the complete absence of a girdle be interpreted in the same way (see Fig. 2.4b). Inappropriate to girlhood status, both prepubescent and pubescent, are such forms of dress as the veil, a symbol of wifely modesty.

Just as the costume of the prepubescent girl becomes with time increasingly indicative of her developmental stage and age status, so too does that of the *parthenos* or adolescent female. L.J. Roccas has traced the development of the iconography of the *kanephoros* figure from the sixth to fourth centuries, during which period the maiden's attire becomes ever more specific.⁶⁴ Prior to 450 BC the *kanephoros*, the adolescent maiden honoured with heading the ritual festival procession, may be identified by the *kanoun*, or basket, she carries on her head and by a special kind of mantle draped over her shoulders and arms that falls both in front and behind almost to the ground (see Fig. 2.4c). This type of mantle is also worn by men and women engaged in cult activities. After 450 BC the *kanephoros* rarely carries a basket and from now on may be identified by a different kind of mantle which is peculiar to her alone. Until the late fifth century this mantle, which is now pinned on the shoulders, hangs down the maiden's back and also sometimes falls in front over her chest, but does not cover her arms: Roccas terms this a 'shoulder mantle'. In the late fifth and fourth centuries a further development takes place with the mantle, still pinned on the shoulders, now falling only behind: Roccas calls this a 'back mantle'. The back mantle-wearing female appears in red figure



Figure 2.4 (a–d) Characteristic costume of prepubescent girls (a–b) and of *parthenoi* (c–d). (a) Marble figure of a seated female infant from the sanctuary of Eileithyia in Agrai on the Ilissos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 695, ca 340–330 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund. (b) Attic black figure *krateriskos* fragment depicting girls wearing short ungirdled tunic, from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, Brauron Archaeological Museum MB572, fifth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund. (c) Attic red figure *pelike* depicting *kanephoros* dressed in festival mantle and carrying *kanoun*, Great North Museum: Hancock, Newcastle upon Tyne, Shefton Collection 203, Pan Painter, ca 470 BC. (d) Attic grave stele of Eukoline depicting *parthenoi* wearing back mantle and high girdled *peplos* with cross bands, Athens, Kerameikos Museum 8754, fourth century BC. Photo: © DAI Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 8754.

wedding and cult scenes, in votive reliefs, on funerary stelai and in coroplastic art, and Roccas suggests that the significance of the now frequently occurring iconographic type is not only to identify the *kanephoros* but also to mark the maiden state and promise of future offspring embodied by the marriageable *parthenos*. By the fourth century the maiden's dress witnesses yet another change with the frequent addition of cross bands and a high girdle to the *peplos* worn with the back mantle (see Fig. 2.4d). These cross bands and high girdle are, as earlier discussed, also worn by prepubescent girls in the same period and seem to point to the youth of the wearer. Given that not all figures attired in back mantle also sport the high girdle and cross bands, Roccas seems justified in suggesting that those figures who wear high girdle and cross bands together with the back mantle may be *parthenoi* younger than those who lack the high girdle and cross bands and who, significantly, may also be shown holding the back mantle up towards the face in a bridal gesture. In this way one iconographic motif becomes modified by another in order to create a nuanced artistic language for the expression of adolescent female age.

In the case of male children, their common representation as nude figures throughout early childhood contrasts markedly with the early draping of their female counterparts. However, to judge from the evidence of fifth-century vase painting, once the age appropriate for the beginning of formal schooling at around seven was reached, they too frequently become more modestly attired in a *himation* (see Fig. 2.5a). Often this *himation* is tightly wrapped around the boy's body and may even be drawn up behind to partly cover the head. In the case of the adolescent youth, the *himation* may be worn more loosely to leave the right arm and part of the chest bare (see Fig. 2.5b). In the case of both prepubescent and adolescent males nudity is, nevertheless, still in evidence particularly in the context of athletic or agonistic activity. The youth of *ephebic* age, having attained legal majority but still in the process of emerging from social adolescence, is more commonly depicted nude and, at least by the fifth century, may sometimes be identified by his characteristic costume of *chlamys*, or short cloak, *petasos*, or traveller's hat, and spears (see Fig. 2.5c).⁶⁵

Gestures

T.J. McNiven's previously mentioned study of children's gestures in Athenian figured vase painting distinguishes three juvenile life stages according to the gestures exhibited.⁶⁶ He notes that babies display a limited number of gestures that have a broad unsubtle meaning, often linked to their dependent state: for example, extending the arms to express a desire to be picked up. Older children, by contrast, make six times as many gestures as babies, though this constitutes only 60% of the gestures performed by adults. Furthermore, while the gestures made by babies are common to both sexes, those of older children become modified according to gender: thus, for example, girls mourn in the fashion of women with hands clutching at head, while



Figure 2.5 (a–c) Characteristic costume of prepubescent boys, adolescent youths and *ephebes*. (a) Attic red figure neck *amphora* depicting an older prepubescent boy on his way to his lessons accompanied by his *paidagogos* carrying his lyre: note the careful differentiation of age between the two, Museo Civico Baranello 85, Manner of the Alkimachos Painter, ca 460 BC. Line drawing: L.A. Beaumont. (b) Attic red figure *skyphos* depicting adolescent youth dressed in *himation* that exposes the chest and right arm: he is offered a *strigil* by a bearded adult male, courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California, Catalogue no. 8.4581, Lewis Painter, ca 460 BC. Copyright © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California. (c) Attic red figure *kylix* depicting two *ephebes* wearing *chlamys* and *petasos* and clutching spears, accompanied by groom with horse, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1900.164, Penthesilea Painter, ca 460 BC.

boys usually mourn in the more controlled manner of men with one arm raised in valediction. However, McNiven also notes examples of boys who mourn in the fashion of women, thus expressing their juvenile inability to maintain emotional control. He also observes a gender difference in the more active forms of boys' gestures when compared with those of girls: thus boys are more likely to gesture in greeting or farewell, and only boys enact finger gestures such as pointing. McNiven further attempts to distinguish an age-related difference in the gestures made by older male youths in comparison to those made by boys, by observing that it is only the older males who perform the *dexiosis*, or handshake. While, however, it is generally true that the *dexiosis* is a gesture foreign to young children, McNiven's conclusion must be somewhat modified in order to take into account the existence of half a dozen fourth-century funerary stelai on which a boy or girl shakes hands with a man or woman, and one further unique tombstone on which a boy and girl face each other and together perform the *dexiosis* gesture (see Fig. 2.7b).⁶⁷

L.J. Roccas, in the course of her discussion of the costume of the *kanephoros*, further notes a youth-related gesture.⁶⁸ She observes that already from the time of the production of the Archaic sculpted *korai*, the young *parthenos* is often seen to clutch at the drapery she wears with one lowered hand (or later with both lowered hands). While originally apparently restricted to juvenile females, this gesture by the fifth century is also performed by young males, such as Triptolemos on the great Eleusinian relief now in the Athens National Archaeological Museum.⁶⁹ In the fourth century it is also enacted by young males on grave stelai.⁷⁰ Perhaps, then, this is a further example of the expression by Athenian artists of certain feminine aspects which were perceived to be inherent in the person of the juvenile male.

Attributes

Attributes may provide a useful indication of a child's or youth's approximate age and life stage. Common attributes for the first stage of childhood, infancy, are a string of protective amulets slung diagonally across the torso from one shoulder, and suitable toys such as the rattle.⁷¹ Older children are frequently depicted with animals, particularly dogs and various types of birds.⁷² Girls may also hold a doll or play knucklebones, while boys clutch a ball or play with hoop and stick.⁷³ The *amax*, a wheeled stick or toy cart, is a particular attribute of boys in the years between infancy and the arrival of puberty.⁷⁴ Older male children may also be associated with the paraphernalia of the schoolroom, such as writing tablet and stylus, or flute and lyre.⁷⁵ The adolescent *parthenos* may hold a mirror or wear jewellery in the fashion of a mature woman, while the adolescent youth may be associated with the *aryballos*, or oil flask, and *strigil*, which constituted necessary equipment for his frequent trips to the palaestra or gymnasium. A youth carrying spears, a sword or other weapons has reached *ephebic* age.

Compositional relationship of figures

The arrangement and juxtaposition of figures may contribute to the identification of the developmental stage of the child or youth. This is particularly the case for the physically dependent stage of infancy where, for example, the child figure is often supported or carried in the arms of an adult. Furthermore since, as we have seen, the development of a nuanced range of iconographic age indicators to distinguish different stages of childhood commences only in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, our ability to identify sub-adult figures in much of Archaic art is largely based on analysis of the compositional relationship of figures: such, for example, as we found to be the case in our earlier discussion of the three juvenile figures on the Sappho Painter's black figure plaque.

2.3 The stages of childhood in Athenian figured art

The six categories of iconographical criteria just discussed (size/height/bodily forms, hair length/facial and body hair, dress, gestures, attributes, compositional relationship of figures) can help us in our attempt to read the iconography of the ages and stages of childhood and youth in Athenian art. Not all of the criteria will be applicable to every figure under examination. However, as many of the criteria as possible should be employed in the analysis of each figure in question, since it is the interaction of the various iconographic indicators of age that often clarifies the figure's developmental status while, conversely, conclusions based on the selective analysis of iconographical age indicators are often misleading. In every instance, moreover, the representational or pictorial context must be taken into consideration since, as we have seen, individual artistic conventions may vary their meaning depending on the context in which they are employed. What has also become evident in the course of our discussion of the iconographical conventions for youthful age representation is the development over time of an increasingly nuanced expression in figured art of the biological and social phases of Athenian childhood and youth. Taking this chronological variation into account, I suggest that Athenian iconography of the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries permits us to identify three major developmental stages of childhood and youth: namely infancy, prepubescent childhood and pubescent youth, of which the latter for the male may be further subdivided into a younger and an older phase. In the late sixth and fifth centuries, the prepubescent category becomes further divisible into recognisable phases of early and older childhood, and by the late fifth and fourth centuries sophisticated gradations of age representation are observable particularly within the category of female adolescence. Let us now, therefore, conclude this chapter by summarising the iconographical characterisation of these several age stages of childhood and youth.

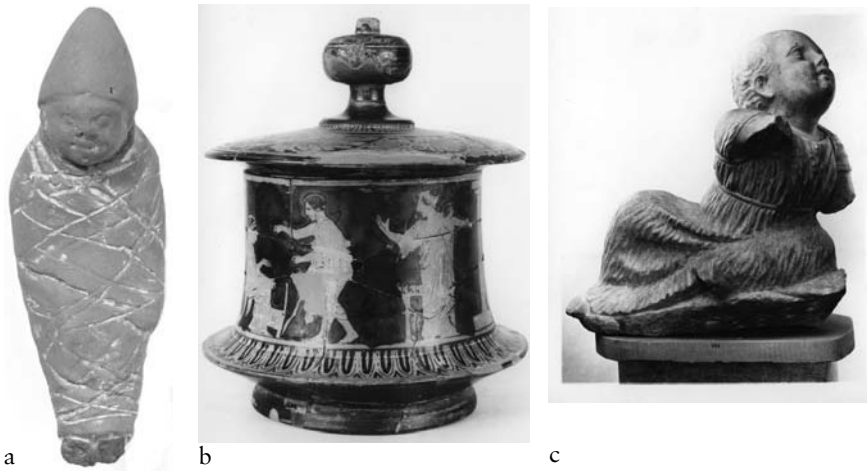


Figure 2.6 (a–c) Characteristic representations of the infant life stage in Athenian figured art. (a) Terracotta figurine from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia depicting a swaddled baby, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 5383, late fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund. (The reverse of this figurine is illustrated in [Figure 3.5](#).) (b) Attic red figure *pyxis* depicting a nude babe in arms with a string of amulets slung across his torso, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1588, Phiale Painter, ca 435–430 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund. (c) Marble figure of a seated infant girl from the sanctuary of Eileithyia in Agrai on the Ilissos: the child, depicted in naturalistic fashion with a large head and chubby body, is dressed in a high-girdled *chiton* with shoulder straps, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 696, end of the fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Infants

I include in this category both babies and young children up to the third year of life, a point at which there seems to have been a commonly acknowledged physiological and ritual arrival at the next stage of childhood. Infants are depicted as small, often naked figures incapable of independent bipedal movement who are, therefore, frequently held in the arms of an adult or alternatively sit, kneel or crawl (see [Fig. 2.6b](#)). A string of protective amulets may be slung across the chest. Some babies may be swaddled, a practice we know to have been in use at Athens (see [Fig. 2.6a](#)).⁷⁶ While in the sixth and earlier fifth centuries infants are regularly depicted as miniature adults, by the late fifth century a naturalistic infant body ideal becomes commonplace, as also do a wider range of convincing childlike postures such as crawling. Older infant girls may now be depicted either naked or dressed in a high-girdled long *chiton* held in place by cross bands (see [Figs 2.4a](#) and [2.6c](#)).



Figure 2.7 (a–e) Characteristic representations of the prepubescent life stage in Athenian figured art. (a) Attic red figure *chous* depicting the figure of a ‘toddler’, an iconographic type that first appears in the late fifth century BC: just emerging from infancy, the child is capable of independent movement, and has a large head and chubby physique. This naked lad wears a string of amulets and his *amax*, or stick on wheels, is propped against the wall behind him. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 01.8086, ca 425–420 BC. Photo: © 2011 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (b) Attic grave stele of Nikandros depicting boy holding bird, together with girl clad in high-belted *chiton*, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 877, ca 375–350 BC. Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund. (c) Attic red figure *kylix* depicting modestly draped boys at their lessons, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F2285, Douris, ca 480 BC. Photo: bpk/Antikensammlung, SMB/Johannes Laurentius. (d) Attic red figure *chous* depicting girl dressed in *chiton* and *himation*, Tübingen, Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Inv. S./10 1378, Manner of the Penthesilea Painter, ca 460 BC. (e) Marble figure of a girl holding a hare, from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron: the girl wears a high-girdled *chiton* with shoulder straps, and over this a *himation*, Brauron Archaeological Museum Inv. 1158, ca 320 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Prepubescent children

Throughout the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries, the childhood phase following infancy and preceding puberty is represented by figures of markedly reduced stature. Girls are clothed, while boys may be naked or draped. In the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC the prepubescent phase becomes iconographically divisible, according to representational context and figure attributes, into a younger and an older group. The younger group comprises children of approximately ages three to seven, who are often depicted at play with their toys or pets. The older group, comprising children of approximately age seven to the teenage onset of puberty, is particularly distinct in the case of boys. While younger boys are often shown naked, these older males are more commonly draped in a frequently tightly wrapped *himation*, though may still be depicted appropriately nude in an athletic setting. The draped boys are, furthermore, often associated with the schoolroom and its paraphernalia (see Fig. 2.7c). The *amax*, or wheeled stick, frequently appears in the hands of both younger and older prepubescent boys. Prepubescent females are flat-chested figures, with hair of varying length either left loose or gathered up on the head. Prior to the late fifth century these girls wear either a waist-girdled *chiton* or *peplos* with or without *himation*, or an ungirdled short *chiton* (see Fig. 2.7d). In the late fifth and fourth centuries a high-girdled long or short *chiton*, often worn with cross bands or shoulder straps, becomes characteristic (see Figs 2.7b and 2.7e).

Also in the late fifth century, at the same time that we witness the adoption of a naturalistic infant body ideal, we may observe the introduction of an iconographic type for the young child just emerging from the infant life stage that we in modern parlance might term the ‘toddler’. This type is characterised by a chubby physique, topped by a large head. The naked boys are frequently shown with a protruding belly, while the girls are clothed. Unlike the younger infant group, these ‘toddlers’ are depicted standing, walking or running (see Fig. 2.7a).⁷⁷

Pubescent youth

For the female the biological end of childhood proper conferred upon her the status of marriageable *parthenos*. In iconographical terms, this transitional maiden phase, which concluded with marriage and first parturition, is in evidence throughout the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries. In sixth and early fifth century Athenian art, the *parthenos* is most commonly represented by the type either of the *kanephoros* (see Fig. 2.4c), a basket-carrying figure wearing a long festival mantle that falls over her shoulders and arms and depicted a little shorter than her adult companions, or of the *kore* figure (see Fig. 2.3c), clothed in *peplos* or *chiton* and *himation*, with breasts indicated under her garments, and sporting long loose hair and jewellery. From the

middle of the fifth century, the form of the mantle worn by the *kanephoros* changes to one that is pinned on her shoulders and comes to identify her in the absence of a basket. Her long hair may still be worn loose, but now more commonly falls down her back in a type of braid. From the late fifth century the *parthenos* sports the shoulder-pinned back mantle. By the fourth century the combination of the back mantle with either the waist-girdled *peplos* or the high-girdled *peplos* with cross bands, together with the raising of the back mantle to the face in a bridal gesture and/or the grasping in the hand(s) of the mantle in a gesture indicative of youth, allows the nuanced expression of advancing stages within female adolescent development (see Fig. 2.4d). The iconography of female adolescence contrasts with that of the adult woman who throughout the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries is shown as a full-sized figure with breasts clearly indicated under her clothing, which usually takes the form of a *chiton* and *himation*: her hair is restrained on her head, often in a bun or chignon arrangement, and is frequently covered by one of a variety of headdresses which include the matrimonial veil.

In the case of the female it is, therefore, the biologically and socially defined adolescent phase of *partheneia* immediately prior to her transition to adulthood that is clearly celebrated and marked by the iconography. For the male, by contrast, it is above all the youthful *ephebic* phase immediately following his arrival at civic and legal adulthood that is distinguished in figured art. This phase of life, which may be marked iconographically by the physiological feature of incipient facial hair (see Fig. 2.2), probably lasted some two or three years until full biological maturity was reached, at which point the male was depicted as sporting a full adult beard. Youths of this age, who seem to have been referred to as *meirakia* and *neaniskoi* as well as *ephebes*,⁷⁸ were deemed to have entered the period of their physical prime and consequently in art are often shown naked. Alternatively, as citizen soldiers they may appear dressed in armour and may carry weapons or sport the characteristic *ephebic* dress of *petasos*, *chlamys* and spears (see Fig. 2.5c).⁷⁹

For adolescent *paides*, that is boys between the onset of puberty and the age of legal majority, no distinct, recognisable adolescent type seems to have been developed, as a result of which we are largely dependent for their identification on analysis of the representational context. They are usually depicted as being taller than prepubescent boys and smaller than *ephebes* and adult males. Like prepubescent boys, they seem to lack facial hair. They may appear naked in an athletic setting and be associated with the *aryballos* and *strigil*. They are frequently presented as the focus of erotic interest on the part of *ephebes* and older bearded men. On occasions, however, when the representational context is vague or ambiguous, it can be very difficult to distinguish the adolescent *pais* from the *ephebe*.⁸⁰ This, I suggest, is an expression of the Athenian perception and construction of pubescent male youth as an extended period stretching over many years and involving the

male's gradual maturation according to varying civic, legal, biological and social criteria. Faced with the task of giving artistic form to this most complex of life stages, the Athenian artist made little attempt to create absolute and restrictive iconographic types. Since, however, the brief phase of female adolescence was far more readily defined according to biological and social criteria only, iconographic characterisation of the *parthenos* was more easily achieved.

* * * * *

This division of the artistic evidence for childhood and youth into a limited number of broad and iconographically recognisable age groups and developmental stages finds general confirmation not only in the ancient literary sources but also in the mortuary record. In a study of sub-adult graves in the Athenian Kerameikos cemetery, S. Houby-Nielsen has been able to make distinctions between the mortuary treatment, particularly along the lines of burial type and grave gifts, accorded to children belonging to three major age bands: babies up to one year old, young children ranging from one to between three and four years, and children ranging from three and four to about twelve years – or, to use the terminology I have employed throughout this chapter, babies, infants and prepubescent children.⁸¹ She also notes the difficulty of distinguishing the graves of adolescents, that is of individuals older than about twelve, from those of adults: this suggests that it was the unrealised adult potential of the liminal adolescent phase that was marked and mourned by the grieving family.

Having broadly defined the major stages of childhood and youth as perceived and recognised by the ancient Athenians, and having identified the corresponding modes of expression of these life stages in Athenian figured art, let us now proceed to apply this theoretical foundation first to a detailed study of the iconography of the Athenian infant and, subsequently, to that of the developing child.

Part II

THE JUVENILE LIFE COURSE

3

BIRTH AND INFANCY

We now begin our examination of the juvenile life course with a study of the iconography of infancy. As discussed in [Chapter 2](#), the Athenians considered infancy as the time following birth during which fundamental physiological development took place (such as the acquisition of teeth and the capacity to eat solid food), and when gross motor and cognitive life skills (such as walking, language comprehension and speech) were acquired. The perceived duration of this period is made clear by Plato, who in the *Laws* 792A declares that ‘infancy lasts not less than three years’. In this chapter, then, I deal largely with the representation in figured art of diminutive figures whose dependent and vulnerable state is indicated by their being held in the arms of an adult, or crawling or sitting on the ground. This is not to say that children in Classical antiquity were unable to walk after some fashion before the age of three: just as today, some children are sure to have taken their first faltering steps even before completing their first year of life, and most children would have been capable of at least hesitant walking by the end of their second year. However, just as contemporary modern textbooks on early childhood development and child-rearing treat the first two and a half years of life as a broad developmental phase reflective of the general population rather than of individual children,¹ I treat the depiction of restricted or adult-dependent mobility in Athenian iconography as an artistic convention indicative of the generic infant stage. The ancient placing of the end of infancy in the third year of life would have ensured that by the time of the ritual celebration of the Anthesteria festival of the child’s transition to the next stage of childhood (see this [chapter 3.3](#), ‘Cult and ritual’), all individuals would have attained the milestones of cutting teeth, being weaned, walking and talking.

This chapter is divided into sections discussing birth, nurture, cult and ritual, and death. The primary focus is an analysis of these aspects of infancy as revealed by the iconographic evidence: figured pottery, funerary relief sculpture, votive free-standing and relief sculpture, and coroplastic art. Iconography cannot, however, provide a comprehensive overview of infancy in ancient Athens: important and sometimes controversial aspects of infancy,

such as exposure of newborns, played no part in the iconography of mortal childhood. For such subjects, analysis of the ancient documentary and literary evidence is sometimes more useful, but this I leave to others better qualified than I. This chapter should not, therefore, be regarded as an exhaustive treatment of all facets of an Athenian childhood, but rather those accorded iconographic expression. Even within the category of Athenian iconographical evidence there exists considerable variation in the particular aspects of infancy revealed by the different artistic media: images of women suckling their babies are, for example, virtually non-existent in extant figured pot painting but are, by contrast, well represented by terracotta figurines. Such differences are significant and deserve to be explored. This I attempt to do, particularly via consideration of the consumption and function of the different artefact types, an approach which may help to shed light on the iconographical disparities.

3.1 Birth

Mortal childbirth constitutes a rare subject in extant Attic art. To my knowledge, it does not appear before the late fifth and fourth centuries and then only in the commemorative funereal and votive contexts, where a dramatic, though discreet, iconographic schema is developed to depict the birth labour of the mother.² This can be seen on nine fourth-century relief-carved funerary markers, where a seated woman half reclines on either a bed or a chair which is well supplied with pillows (see Fig. 3.1).³ Though modestly draped in *chiton* and *himation*, her girdle is many times noticeably unloosed, as also in a number of cases is her hair. She is attended by one or two female helpers, and her physical distress is obvious from her sagging posture and limp arms. A grieving male, or female, relative may also be depicted. A comparable image is found on a late fifth-century relief-carved votive stele, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where a woman sits slumped on a stool in a weary attitude (see Fig. 3.2).⁴ Though the relief is incompletely preserved, the remains of two over-life-sized figures holding torches stand before her, and E. Mitropoulou has suggested that these should be identified as Eileithyia and Artemis Lochia, who were closely connected with the fate of women in childbirth.⁵ As on the funerary reliefs, the seated woman is accompanied by a female helper, but here an important difference is noticeable. By contrast to the grave markers, where no baby is depicted as the fruit of the woman's labour, on the votive relief a swaddled infant nestles on the left arm of the female assistant. This implies that whereas the funerary reliefs commemorate death in childbirth, the votive stele was erected in thanksgiving for a successful labour and the delivery of a baby. That any of the funerary markers showing death in childbirth were erected above the graves of midwives, a suggestion advanced in the case of the stele of Malthake by C.W. Clairmont, seems highly unlikely:⁶ why should any *maia*, or midwife,

wish to be commemorated in the context of overseeing unsuccessful labour? Indeed, the only certain example we have of a stele erected in memory of a midwife, that of Phanostrate (see Fig. 3.39), depicts her in the presence of a lively kneeling baby boy and three somewhat older girls.⁷ The baby-free iconography of the death in childbirth grave markers should also prompt us to re-examine the common scholarly assumption that the presence of infants on funerary monuments erected to commemorate deceased Athenian women (see this chapter 3.4, ‘Death’) necessarily indicates that these individuals died in labour.⁸ Rather, the presence of infants, as in the case of Phanostrate, may be understood to act as an attribute of the deceased’s role while alive: Phanostrate being indicated as a successful and respected midwife, and many Athenian women being presented as productive and dutiful mothers celebrated in the context of a memorial erected by their *oikoi*.



Figure 3.1 Attic grave stele of Malthake depicting a woman in labour, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 21, ca 330–320 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 3.2 Marble votive relief fragment, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund 1924 (24.97.92), late fifth century BC. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

By contrast to votive and funerary sculpture, the surviving corpus of Athenian figured pottery is completely devoid of any mortal birth scenes, though several examples of superhuman birth are presented.⁹ In all but two cases these are fantastic births, far removed from physical possibility: Athena emerges from the head of Zeus, Dionysos is delivered out of Zeus's thigh, Erichthonios is born from the earth, Aphrodite rises from the sea, and Helen is produced from an egg. Only the birth of Apollo and Artemis from the Titaness Leto, and Dionysos's first premature birth from mortal Semele, bear the faintest relation to obstetrical reality, though even then Dionysos is snatched from the womb of Semele as her body is consumed by divine fire and completes his gestation in the thigh of Zeus. Leto, however, laboured after mortal human fashion to bring forth her divine twins, and on a red figure pyxis from the mid-fourth century we see her labour depicted very much according to the iconographic schema we have already seen employed in contemporary relief sculpture for mortal parturition (see [Fig. 3.3](#)).¹⁰ Leto sits leaning backward on a chair which she grips with one hand: with her other hand she braces herself against the Delian palm tree, which in her case replaces the support provided by a female helper to the labouring mortal women depicted on the funerary stelai.



Figure 3.3 Attic red figure *pyxis* depicting the birth labour of Leto, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1635, ca 340–330 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

In seeking to explain the absence of mortal birth scenes in figured pottery and their contrasting presence in funerary and votive relief sculpture, S. Lewis reminds us to consider the function of the different artefact categories.¹¹ Thus while grave stelai and votive plaques were used to ritually commemorate either unsuccessful or successful childbirth, together also in the votive context with the offering of personal items belonging to the parturient, figure-painted pottery vessels seem to have played no part in the memorialising of this aspect of female life. There was, therefore, no call for their iconography to incorporate images of mortal birth.

In addition to the offering in the votive context of costly stone sculpture, we may note the dedication of many more readily affordable terracotta figurines in the sanctuaries of those gods closely associated with childbirth. While a number of deities were linked with childbirth, the two cults which seem to have been widely deemed most efficacious by Athenians were those of Eileithyia and Artemis.¹² Pausanias (I.18.5) mentions a sanctuary in Athens dedicated to Eileithyia, and archaeological excavation at Agrai has indeed revealed a shrine identified by an inscription as that of Eileithyia Eukoline, she who eases the labour of women.¹³ The sanctuary of Artemis and Iphigeneia ('strong in birth') at Brauron also provided a major focus for

votive dedications either preceding or following childbirth.¹⁴ Interestingly, however, the extant terracotta figurines and free-standing statuettes dedicated in these sanctuaries depict sitting or crawling infants, and focus not so much on the moment of birth itself as on its successful outcome, thereby also probably making appeal to the *kourotrophic* aspect of the goddesses.¹⁵ (See below, ‘Protection of the Infant’.)

3.2 Nurture

Clothing the infant

Following birth, it seems to have been Athenian practice to swaddle the infant. However, while the Classical Greek literary sources make reference to swaddling, they do not tell us the length of time during which infants in practice remained swaddled.¹⁶ A later literary source, Soranos of Ephesos, reports (*Gynaekia* 2.19.42) that in his time (second century AD) swaddling bands (*spargana*) were generally worn for the first sixty days of life. That a similar short-term practice of swaddling was also observed in Classical Athens may perhaps be inferred from the iconographic evidence. As we have already noted, figured pottery does not concern itself with images related to mortal birth. It does, however, present the viewer with genre scenes which incorporate the figure of the babe in arms, usually shown naked with limbs free of wrappings. As far as I am aware, only one extant vase, a Late Archaic red figure neck amphora in New York, depicts an unmistakable case of a swaddled child.¹⁷ Significantly, this is no mortal infant but rather the newborn Dionysos being delivered to the nymphs by his father Zeus. In the absence of mortal birth scenes, and the depiction of swaddling only in the case of a mythical newborn child, I therefore tentatively suggest that mortal infants depicted in Athenian ceramic iconography should be viewed as having passed beyond the first few months of life, and that it is precisely their ability to interact with their carers as they gesture and reach out to them that makes the young child a dynamic and affective compositional element for the pot painter (see, for example, [Fig. 2.6b](#)). These dependent but active infant figures may be contrasted with images of swaddled babies found on Athenian grave stelai and in the form of terracotta figurines where they occur respectively in funereal commemorative and votive contexts which, as we have already observed, treat the subject of birth and thus also the newborn child (see [Fig. 3.4](#)). Interestingly, one late fourth century BC terracotta figurine of a swaddled baby from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia shows the child as tightly wrapped with the exception of its bottom which is completely bare! (see [Fig. 3.5](#))¹⁸ Perhaps what we witness here is the Athenians’ very practical solution to the problem of the unhygienic faecal mass which would accumulate inside the wrappings of a completely swaddled infant. Visible on the head of this bare-bottomed baby, as on many other swaddled figures, is a pointed hat, surely intended to keep the infant warm.



Figure 3.4 Attic grave stele depicting a woman holding a swaddled infant with bonnet while a seated woman and a standing man shake hands, Marseilles, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne 1596, fourth century BC. Line drawing: L.A. Beaumont.



Figure 3.5 Terracotta figurine from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia depicting a swaddled baby viewed from the rear, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 5383, late fourth century BC. (The obverse of the figure is illustrated in [Figure 2.6a](#).) Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

In visual terms swaddling renders the infant genderless to the onlooker, as also does the full or partial draping of the older babe in arms. This does not, however, apply to the representation of babies in figured pot painting where, with very few exceptions, infants who crawl or are held by an adult are naked. With their genitals clearly depicted, these children can almost all be identified as male. Exceptions include a white-painted female child seated on the ground on a black figure votive plaque from the Akropolis, a white-painted infant in a woman's arms on the lid of a black figure Nikosthenic *pyxis*, a clothed infant girl carried by one woman to another on an Attic white ground *lekythos*, and several crawling naked girls on *choes*, whose gender is indicated by their lack of male genitals and their hair being drawn up into a topknot (see Fig. 2.3a).¹⁹ Apart from this very limited number of representations of female infants, notably on ceramic shapes possessing ritual associations, the depiction of the small child on figure-decorated vases therefore presents the viewer with the Athenian cultural ideal of a highly valued infant male heir who would in due course perpetuate the natal *oikos*. Gender identification is more uncertain in the case of the many wrapped babes in arms represented on relief-carved grave stelai and votive plaques. The funerary stelai also, however, depict a good number of partially or fully naked seated or crawling infant boys (see Fig. 3.6), and far fewer examples of clothed infant girls who crouch on the ground at the feet of their mothers.²⁰ Thus while commemorative funerary sculpture also, like vase painting, appears to accord a higher profile to male than to female infancy, S. Lewis has very reasonably proposed that the gender-neutral representation of many wrapped or draped babies on grave markers may have been intended by the sculptors to meet the demands of a variety of customers who, in purchasing ready-made tombstones, may well have sought to choose a figured scene which best reflected their own family composition (see Fig. 3.7).²¹ This personal element, which counterbalances the socially constructed ideal, may also be seen to be at work in the dedication by anxious parents of terracotta figurines, and also by the fourth century of stone statuettes, of both male and female infants in the sanctuaries of *kourotrophic* deities (see below, 'Protection of the infant').

Daily care

As parents of all infants will acknowledge, the feeding of the young child constitutes a major daily caring activity and concern. As now, so it was in ancient Athens: a situation evidenced by the finding of S. Houby-Nielsen that among mortuary assemblages in the Kerameikos cemetery, the highest proportion of vessels related to drinking and eating occur in the burials of individuals up to one year old, followed by those of children aged between one and three or four years.²² It may then seem strange that, with the exception of coroplastic art, the image of the young child nursing at the female breast is almost non-existent in Athenian iconography.²³ A comparison with figured art from



Figure 3.6 Attic grave stele of Mnesagora and Nikochores, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3845, ca 430 bc. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 3.7 Attic grave stele of Philonoe, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3790, ca 370–360 bc. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

contemporary Etruria, South Italy and Sicily, where images of the suckling child are more commonly found, suggests that other than in the ritual and votive context, the nursing motif was for the Athenians essentially taboo.²⁴ Consideration of the functional context of the suckling image is, therefore, of prime significance. Many of the terracotta figurines which depict a child feeding at a woman's breast, or indeed simply take the form of models of female breasts, have been found in the sanctuaries of *kourotrophic*, or child-nurturing, deities (on which see below, 'Protection of the infant'), such as Ge and Artemis.²⁵ These inexpensive dedications are likely to have been private offerings made by women of Athens, to whom fell the responsibility of nourishing the young through the first dangerous months of life. The contrasting absence of the nursing image from vase painting and funerary relief sculpture, which as we have already seen do nevertheless treat images of the *oikos* and of mother and child, may perhaps be explained by the wider clientele for whom these artefacts were made and by whom they were viewed. On the pots and the mortuary stelai, what is presented for the consumption of male and female alike is the cultural ideal of the Athenian woman fulfilling her expected role as mother. However, the baring of the breast, which is of course necessary for suckling, carried with it a heavy sexual reference for the Athenian male viewer and consumer, and may have been irreconcilable with his perception of the mother figure. Furthermore, as we shall shortly discuss, the apparently not uncommon practice by those who could afford it of employing a wet nurse may have rendered the suckling image suggestive of the activities of those who fed a child for money or in their capacity as a slave of the household. This may have resulted in the undesirability of the representation of the nursing woman with baby for anything except the votive context, where its specific reference to the nourishment of the infant seems to have been deemed appropriate in seeking the gods' blessings for the child's continued health and growth.

Evidence for weaning comes both from the ancient literary sources and from archaeological excavation. Although no Athenian written source contemporary with the period under study tells us at what age weaning generally took place, we may reasonably be guided by the second century AD author Soranos of Ephesos, who in his *Gynaekia* 2.21.46 advises a diet of breastmilk for the first six months of life, followed by mixed feeding until eighteen to twenty-four months, when weaning was completed. In practice these guidelines, which mirror remarkably the recommendations of twenty-first-century AD paediatricians, would have varied from woman to woman and child to child, and it is to be hoped that in years to come further information will become available via the application to the excavated bones and teeth of ancient Athenian infants of the scientific technique of stable isotope analysis, which is able to reveal the age at which a child was weaned.²⁶ At present, however, our archaeological evidence related to the weaning of children is restricted to finds of the infant feeding bottle (*bombylios*), which is frequently found in the burials of young children.²⁷ These small ceramic vessels have a handle and a spout, and were

once thought by some scholars to be lamp fillers. They can, however, be conclusively demonstrated to have served as infant feeders via reference to two artefacts: a Boiotian terracotta figurine in Geneva dating to the first half of the fifth century BC and a late fifth-century Attic red figure feeder in Athens.²⁸ The terracotta group shows a seated woman holding a little boy on her left arm, while with the right she feeds him from a *bombylios*, the infant craning forward to suck from the spout (see Fig. 3.8). In the case of the red figure feeder in Athens, the function of the vessel is confirmed by its decoration with the figures of three crawling baby boys (see Fig. 3.9). This feeder, like many others, is closed on the top by a strainer device, which suggests that it was used in early mixed feeding to filter out particles of food which might yet be too large for the infant. While for the most part we can only guess at the diet offered children in the weaning stage, it is clear that diluted honey was thought to be good for young children to drink: this is advocated by Soranos in the *Gynaekia* 2.11.17, while honey has also been identified by residue analysis as once having been contained in a Mycenaean feeder from Midea, the efficacious shape of the *bombylios* ensuring that its form changed little over the centuries.²⁹



Figure 3.8 Boiotian terracotta figurine depicting a seated woman feeding an infant from a *bombylios*, or spouted feeder, © Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève, inv. A2003-11/dt, first half of the fifth century BC. Photo: Jean-Marc Yersin.



Figure 3.9 Attic red figure *bombylios*, or spouted infant feeder, decorated with three baby boys, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18554, late fifth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

As earlier mentioned, the wet nurse (*titthe*) seems to have constituted a common feature of Athenian life. Her role in the feeding and care of the infant may have been the result of a number of factors: the mother's death in childbirth or her insufficient milk supply, or the attachment of a certain social prestige to the ability of the *oikos* to command the economic wherewithal necessary to be able to free the birth mother of the nursing task by allocating it to another woman. That wet nurses might be either slaves of the household or women of free status is demonstrated by several fourth-century inscriptions, including a number of funerary epitaphs found on stelai which marked a nurse's last resting place.³⁰ The common iconographic schema employed by the figured reliefs which accompany the funerary epitaphs shows the nurse seated on a high-backed chair with her feet resting on a footstool, a pose which would seem to emulate that of the many Athenian citizen women we see represented on contemporary grave stelai. The nurse may be depicted alone, or with a man, or with a man and a woman, or with a child. Interestingly, when a child is represented it is a figure well past the infant stage and no longer in need of the wet nurse's milk. That at least some of these tomb markers were erected in loving memory of the nurse by the families of the probably now grown charges she had once suckled is evidenced by the epigrams on the stelai of the metic Malicha and on that of the wet nurse Melitta, daughter of the freedman Apollodoros (see [Fig. 3.10](#)).³¹ Further witness to the close bond that could develop between a wet nurse and her charge, and to the high regard in which at least some nurses came to be viewed by the wider

family, is provided by red figure iconography where we sometimes find the old nurse accorded pride of place at the *prothesis* of the family's now teenage son or daughter who died before fulfilling his or her adult potential. In several cases the nurse is identified as a Thracian by her characteristic dress and sometimes her tattoos, Thracian women being much favoured by the Athenians as nurses.³² The sedate and infant-free iconography of the *titthe* depicted on her funerary stele contrasts markedly with that employed for terracotta figurines, where the nurse appears as a seated or standing old and overweight figure cradling either an immobile swaddled newborn or a lively naked, or seminaked, infant: caricatured types clearly inspired by the comic theatre.³³ In these figurines, and on the grave stelai just discussed, the nurse, with or without accompanying infant, constitutes the viewer's central focus: however, on many other funerary reliefs, stone votive plaques and figured vases of the fifth and fourth centuries, the nurse is instead a supplementary, secondary figure who holds a baby or passes it to or from the mother (see Fig. 3.7).³⁴ Here the representation of the nurse serves as a reference to the elevated social status of the mother, while the baby identifies the *oikos* as pictorial subject matter. In these cases, furthermore, it is often impossible to discern whether a wet nurse (*titthe*) or dry nurse (*trophos*) is intended. Sometimes the lowly social status of the nurse is indicated by her smaller scale compared to the mother and other figures in the scene, her shorn hair and the type of clothing she wears, such as a long-sleeved tunic.³⁵ In many cases, however, it is not possible to discern the social status of the nurse figure from the iconography.



Figure 3.10 Attic grave stele of the wet nurse Melitta, London, British Museum 1909,0221.1, mid fourth century BC. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

As we have already noted, the representation of the infant on grave stelai and votive reliefs and in figured pot painting largely serves to underscore the Athenian woman's role as productive mother and/or to identify that the pictorial context is that of the *oikos*.³⁶ Prior to the late fifth century the evidence is largely confined to the medium of vase painting, and even here there are only a few examples of the depiction of the infant before the second quarter of the fifth century. When the infant does appear earlier in black figure it is usually in the context of the departure of its warrior father to battle, though we also have a handful of highly unusual black figure scenes which display the infant in a more intimate and relaxed domestic setting.³⁷ From circa 470 BC the infant becomes more frequently, though never commonly, depicted in the company of its mother or some combination of mother, father and nurse. While such scenes continue to treat the theme of the departure of the warrior, albeit it in a more intimate fashion,³⁸ the pictorial subject matter now more commonly focuses on the domestic environment, and clustering around the middle years of the fifth century we find three delightful red figure scenes of infant care which must have been all too familiar to the Athenians.³⁹ The images, which decorate a stemless *kylix*, a *lekythos* and a *chous*, show the child sitting in what we might call a potty high chair, a function revealed by the happy conjunction of iconography and the archaeological excavation of a real infant-sized example of a ceramic chair dating to the second quarter of the sixth century, discarded in a well shaft near the Athenian Agora (see Fig. 3.12).⁴⁰ The finding of the three-dimensional chair, appropriately decorated with images of real animals and fantastic creatures that would no doubt have appealed to its young user, revealed that the base of the upper bowl in which the baby was seated was supplied not only with holes for the legs to pass through, but also with a third hole strategically located beneath the child's bottom to allow the free downward passage of urine and faeces, presumably into a receptacle placed inside the chair's hollow stand. On the stemless *kylix* the lively baby interacts playfully with his finely dressed, seated mother, and on the *lekythos* with a standing woman who, to judge from her simpler attire and short hair, is probably a nurse. Characteristically in the case of the *chous* shape (on which see below, this chapter 3.3, 'Cult and ritual'), the baby is depicted alone: he entertains himself by shaking a rattle while a toy roller is propped against the wall beside him (see Fig. 3.11).

Based on an analysis of figured ceramic iconography, we might be tempted to conclude that the Athenian father interacted little with his infant offspring. Other than the departure of warrior images, where the presence of the warrior's wife and baby underscore the threat of imminent destruction for the family unit, only a handful of scenes show him in the presence of spouse and offspring in the private setting of the family home.⁴¹ A lack of physical interaction is, furthermore, noticeable between the father and the child, which is either held by its mother or, alternatively, crawls on the floor. Indeed, with only one exception, the infants who are held by men in Athenian ceramic



Figure 3.11 Attic red figure *chous* depicting an infant sitting in a potty chair, London, British Museum 1910.6–15.4, ca 440–430 BC. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.



Figure 3.12 Terracotta potty chair found in a well shaft near the Athenian Agora, Athens, Agora Museum P18010, ca 575–560 BC. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

iconography are only the superhuman children of myth: Dionysos in the arms of Zeus or Hermes, Achilles held by Hermes, Oinopion on the knee of Dionysos, Orestes snatched up by Telephos, Oidipus carried by Euphorbos.⁴² Furthermore, while the subject of the nuclear family, characterised by wife/mother, husband/father, and infant is also introduced to white-ground *lekythoi* and funerary stelai by, respectively, the late fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries BC, and also appears on many fourth-century votive reliefs, there is again, with only one or two exceptions, little interaction between father and baby. Yet by contrast, as pointed out by B. Strauss, we possess a number of ancient literary references which describe Athenian fathers talking to and playing with their young sons.⁴³ It would thus seem reasonable to conclude that Athenian fathers would have engaged in some interaction with their young offspring, particularly their sons, and particularly those men of lower socio-economic status who would be forced by more cramped living conditions to share the same domestic space occupied by their wife and children. However, this aspect of private life found little place on the canvas of ceramic or sculpted stone iconography since affective relationships between men and their young children did not constitute an element in the social construction of the ideal citizen male's identity. We may also observe that the vessel shapes used for the representation of domestic scenes incorporating the image of the nuclear family are almost always shapes which were associated with women's life – the *lebes gamikos*, the *kalpis hydria* and, most frequently, the *pyxis*: this suggests that the consumers were not the men of Athens seeing themselves self-referenced in the iconography, but rather the women who took pleasure in identifying these tranquil domestic images with their own lives. Such observations thus render extraordinary two funerary stelai and a fragmentary votive relief, all from Peiraeus, which show a man intimately engaged with a baby: on the tombstones a mature male offers a bird to a crawling or squatting infant, while on the votive relief a man carries a semi-draped child towards an altar (see Figs 3.19 and 3.35).⁴⁴ We shall have cause to return to these remarkable pieces later in this chapter, in our discussion, respectively, of death and of cult and ritual.

The images thus far examined have given us precious little idea of how an Athenian infant was kept amused, or indeed amused itself, during the first years of life. With the infant functioning as an attribute and an identifier of mother, *oikos*, or nurse on funerary stelai, votive reliefs and a number of painted vases, we see that the aim of the artist was not first and foremost to conjure up lively images of child life. If, however, we turn to the class of late fifth-century red figure child vases known as *choes*, together with decorated squat *lekythoi* which also seem to some degree to have been produced with children in mind, and further to fourth-century stone votive statuettes and terracotta figurines of children, we find the artist's attention shifted fair and square onto infants themselves, with the result that we are provided with informative vignettes apparently related to the earliest pastimes of life.⁴⁵ The

earlier discussed *chous* which depicts a child seated in a potty high chair also shows the infant holding a rattle, a type of toy commented on thus by Aristotle in the *Politics*: 'Children should have something to do, and the rattle of Archytas, which people give to their children in order to amuse them and prevent them from breaking anything in the house, was a capital invention, for a young thing cannot be quiet.'⁴⁶ On this same *chous*, as on many others, we also see a toy roller. Two fourth-century grave stelai, which uniquely depict a seated infant as the sole pictorial subject, show two more kinds of commonly represented childhood amusements: a ball and a small animal (see Fig. 3.13). Here it is a bird and a dog that catch the child's attention, and indeed these are the animals most commonly represented with children in Athenian art.⁴⁷ Children's grave assemblages provide ample evidence for the translation of real animals into terracotta models that probably served as playthings during the individual's life: S. Houby-Nielsen reports that in the Kerameikos, in the fifth-century graves of infants up to one year old, the most commonly occurring terracotta figurines were those of monkey and horse, while in the graves of those aged between one and three or four years, monkey and horse were also joined by bird, cock, dog and boar.⁴⁸ She also notes the deposition of astragals, or knucklebones. Last, but not least, we should also factor into our consideration of infant amusements the relating of stories and the singing of songs by mother or nurse. While no evidence of this is forthcoming from archaeology, Plato in the *Republic* (II.376E–378E) debates which kinds of tales were suitable for young and impressionable ears to hear. He concludes that those stories which told of violence committed either by children against their parents, such as Kronos castrating his father Ouranos, or by parents against their children, such as Zeus deforming his son Hephaistos, were unsuitable, and advocates that the first stories heard should inculcate virtuous sentiments in the developing mind.

Protection of the infant

Privileged as we are as members of twenty-first-century urban society in which health education, together with preventative and curative medical care, is readily available to infants and their carers, we expect that a newborn baby will in due course grow to adulthood. It is, then, hard for us to imagine the dangers faced by an infant born into ancient Athenian society (or even, for that matter, by a child born today in the Third World), and the consequent fears and uncertainty involved on the part of parents in raising an infant. Disease, unsanitary living conditions, unclean water, and ignorance of infant physiology and good hygiene practices, meant that many babies would succumb to infection, fever, gastric distress and ultimate death within the first few days, weeks and months of life. In trying to make sense of what must have seemed like a lottery of infant death or survival, the Greeks, like so many other peoples in different places and times, credited malicious



Figure 3.13 Attic grave stele depicting a seated infant boy clutching bird and ball, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1040, second half of the fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

supernatural forces with the power to snatch life away from their offspring.⁴⁹ This threat, posed for the Greeks by mythical females such as Gello, Mormo, Lamia and Empousa, could however, it was believed, be deflected by placing the child under the benign supernatural protection afforded by the daily wearing of magical, apotropaic amulets, and by committing the child in the cultic context to the care of *kourotrophic*, or child-nurturing, deities.

Our best evidence for the wearing of protective amulets comes from the iconographic sources. These amulets, referred to by the Greeks by a variety of names, such as *apotropaia*, *probaskania*, *periammata*, *peripta* and *prophylaktika*, are most frequently seen on red figure and white ground pottery.⁵⁰ Most commonly they take the form of a cord slung around the infant's torso and hung with a number of charms.⁵¹ While the form of these charms is often indistinct in the painted images, circles and crescent shapes and, less commonly, the double axe, may be distinguished. Occasionally a charm shaped rather like a lotus bud is also visible (see Figs 3.14 and 3.15).⁵² While surprisingly few of these charms have been found, or at least recognised, in archaeological excavation, V. Dasen highlights the discovery of a series of silver, bronze and lead lunate charms of late fifth- and early fourth-

century date at Olynthos, a bronze example being unearthed in a child's tomb.⁵³ She further suggests that the commonly represented crescent charm, the *selinis*, may have served to mark the child as having been placed under the protection of Artemis. Simple knotted cords, now long since perished, were also considered an effective apotropaic device and, furthermore, were not restricted to infants but were also worn around wrist and ankle by older youths and adults.⁵⁴ The amulet motif appears in Athenian vase painting by circa 470 BC and is commonly represented, particularly on the *chous* shape, by the late fifth century:⁵⁵ indeed, R. Hamilton has calculated that amulets are worn by approximately 72% of naked children, and 36% of all children, depicted in the scenes that decorate small *choes*.⁵⁶ The strings adorn both male and female children.⁵⁷ By contrast with figured ceramics, amulets are rarely seen on children depicted on grave stelai. Since deceased children may wear amulets on white ground *lekythoi*, it cannot be the case that the dead were thought to be no longer in need of magical protection.⁵⁸ Perhaps, then, it is safer to conclude that since infants generally constitute only supplementary figures on grave reliefs, and only on rare occasions constitute the main focus of the memorial (see below, this [chapter 3.4](#), 'Death'), attention was not therefore devoted to the detailed characterisation of the earliest childhood phase: this contrasting with the child-centred iconography of the *choes*. Perhaps in the case of votive terracotta and stone sculpture, where again amulet-toting children are hard to find, magical protection was felt to be unnecessary since the *kourotrophic* deities to whom the offerings were made would ensure the protection of the infants committed to their care.



Figure 3.14 Attic red figure *chous* depicting a naked boy wearing a string of circle, lotus bud and crescent shaped amulets, Corinth Archaeological Museum MP113, last quarter of the fifth century BC. Photo: Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies, Corinth Excavations, I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti.



Figure 3.15 Attic red figure *chous* on which a seated infant boy wears a string of crescent and double-axe shaped amulets, London, British Museum E536, last quarter of the fifth century BC. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

3.3 Cult and ritual

Kourotrophoi

Mention of the *kourotrophic* deities brings us into the sphere of Athenian religion. The child-nurturing gods were many, but particularly important in Athens and Attica were Ge, Artemis, Demeter, Athena and Kephissos.⁵⁹ Asklepieios, as the divine physician, also played a child-nurturing role. The chthonic aspect of many of these deities is notable, and may in part relate to the Athenian perception of birth and infancy as liminal states, positioned precariously at the interface of life confronted with the very real menace of death. Common dedications offered in return for divine protection of offspring were terracotta figurines of women holding or suckling children, terracotta models of breasts, and stone or terracotta infant figures of naked seated or crawling boys and draped seated girls.⁶⁰ Some of the larger infant figures would have been mounted atop votive columns (see Fig. 3.16), an image perfectly recreated by the scene decorating a large *chous* in the Louvre (see Fig. 3.17).⁶¹ Here the child is seated frontally, as is the case in so many of the surviving terracotta and stone figures, and stretches out a hand to the goddess Athena who stands looking on. While the child and the upper part of the column on which it sits are damaged, the short-haired naked infant appears to be male. Thanks to the dedicatory inscription – *isias [a]netheken* – which adorns the two-stepped base on which the column stands, and also to the application of white paint on the child figure and the column, indicating that they should both be understood as made of stone, it seems safe to view this image as representing *kourotrophic* Athena receiving the offering made to her in return for the granting of her care to the infant symbolised by the stone statue.



Figure 3.16 Marble votive figure of naked infant boy atop a column from the Asklepieion at Athens, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2211, ca 320 bc. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 3.17 Attic red figure *chous* by the Trophy Painter, Paris, Louvre L63/MNB 1759, ca 430 bc. Photo: © 1970 Musée du Louvre/Pierre et Maurice Chuzeville.

In Athens we have evidence from the Archaic period on of a major *kourotrophic* cult, probably of Ge, on the west slope of the Akropolis, while in the Agora below further finds of figurines, jewellery, loomweights, baby feeding cups and knucklebones suggest the existence of another *kourotrophic* sanctuary.⁶² Meanwhile, on the south slope of the Akropolis votive figurines and statuettes of infants were dedicated from the fourth century on to Asklepieios and Hygeia (see Fig. 3.16).⁶³ Demeter's several Athenian cult centres – the Thesmophorion and the Eleusinion in Athens, and also her sanctuary at Eleusis – have all produced large numbers of terracotta figurines depicting women and children, and testify to the great Mother's role as a nurturer of the young.⁶⁴ Like Eleusis, the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron contributed a major focus of pilgrimage for women eager to seek powerful divine protection for their young children: from Brauron numerous examples of terracotta figurines of a woman holding a baby, and more expensive stone figures of infants, provide vivid illustrations of the care believed to be afforded by the goddess to the youngest members of Athenian society (see Fig. 3.18).⁶⁵

More difficult to interpret are three fragmentary fourth-century votive reliefs now in the Akropolis Museum. The best-preserved relief shows a male and a female votary standing facing a naked youthful male figure,



Figure 3.18 Terracotta figurine of woman with child, Brauron Archaeological Museum Inv. K2629, beginning of the fifth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

while beside them a semi-draped young man stoops to lift up a baby who reaches out its arms. A group of a man stooping towards a child seems to occur again, badly damaged, on the second of the fragmentary reliefs, while on the third battered piece can be seen a basket on the ground containing an infant which stretches its arms towards a, probably female, figure.⁶⁶ In her discussion of the three pieces, O. Palagia notes that in Athenian figured art the baby-in-a-basket motif is familiar to us from the Erichthonios myth. However, she rejects Erichthonios as the identity of the infant depicted on the three Akropolis reliefs on the grounds that Erichthonios had no cult and therefore was not a recipient of votive reliefs, and also because Erichthonios's guardian snakes are not visible in any of the three reliefs in question. Though a precedent does seem to exist for baby Erichthonios shown in his basket without snakes in the image found on a fragmentary red figure cup in the Louvre, it nevertheless remains difficult to reconcile the identity of the baby on the Akropolis Museum pieces as Erichthonios given the presence of the man who stoops towards him on two of the pieces.⁶⁷ The iconography of the infant Erichthonios in Athenian red figure consistently shows the baby in the care of, or at least in close proximity to, the divine female Athena who does not appear on any of the Akropolis reliefs, in so far as they are preserved.⁶⁸ In her search for other explanations for the reliefs, Palagia discusses Erichthonios as the archetypal infant deposited in a sanctuary in the care of the gods, and reminds us of the echoes of such acts of deposition in the myth of baby Ion as related by Euripides, and in the story recounted by Olympiodoros of the infant Plato brought by his parents to the sanctuary of Apollo on Mount Hymettos in order to receive the blessing of the god.⁶⁹ She also notes the representation on the best preserved of the Akropolis Museum pieces of a stele standing behind the naked youth, and correctly identifies this as a characteristic marker of votive reliefs dedicated to healing gods such as Asklepieios or Amphiaraos. Although the findspot of the three reliefs is not known, it is not unlikely, given their inclusion in the Akropolis Museum collection, that they came from the sanctuary of Asklepieios on the south slopes of the Akropolis. Since Asklepieios, as we have already seen, functioned as a child-nurturing deity, Palagia thus reasonably suggests that the reliefs depict the dedication of mortal infants in the sanctuary of Asklepieios in order to seek the god's blessing for the health and well-being of a valued child.⁷⁰

Amphidromia and Apatouria

Several of the rituals related to birth and infancy which we learn about from the ancient literary sources are not, however, reflected in the iconographical record. These include the Amphidromia, which celebrated the baby's birth and its incorporation as a member of the *oikos*. While the exact timing of the Amphidromia is uncertain, we can safely say that it took place between

the fifth and the tenth day after birth.⁷¹ By this time, as Aristotle notes, the greatest threat of perinatal death was beginning to abate.⁷² Furthermore, any decision on the part of the family to expose a child unwanted because of deformity, sickness, straitened economic circumstance, control of offspring numbers or any other reason had to be effected before the time came for the otherwise customary celebration of the Amphidromia. Thus while birth constituted the infant's physical entry into the world, the Amphidromia constituted the critical confirmation of the child's social identity as an accepted member of its natal family.

Having become an accepted member of the *oikos*, it seems that the next step in the development of the child's identity was its introduction to the paternal *phratry*, or ancestral kinship group, in which wider social arena the infant's legitimacy, on which depended its future citizenship status, was acknowledged by its father. As already observed in [Chapter 2](#), a great deal of scholarly debate has focused on the timing of this introduction, but current evaluation of the ancient literary and documentary sources suggests that the child was ideally formally presented by its father to his brotherhood on two occasions.⁷³ Both presentations would have taken place during the *phratry* festival of the Apatouria held in the month of Pyanepsion (late October), the first presentation (*meion*) probably usually occurring at the first Apatouria celebration following the child's birth, and the second presentation (*koureion*) taking place in late adolescence. Since an animal sacrifice would have been required to accompany the child's presentation, B.S. Strauss suggests that poorer Athenian families are likely to have presented the child only once to the *phratry*, that is in adolescence when attestation of filial legitimacy became critical as the time for enrolment of new citizens on the deme register drew near.⁷⁴ Whether girls were presented to their father's *phratry* as well as boys has also provoked much scholarly discussion though it is clear that at least some girls, particularly *epikleroi* (heiresses), were accorded the same treatment.⁷⁵ In terms of the iconographical commemoration of the young child's presentation on the occasion of the *meion* sacrifice of the Apatouria, two votive reliefs have tentatively been proposed. I earlier mentioned an extraordinary fragmentary fourth-century votive relief from Peiraeus which provides us with a rare example of a semi-draped infant being carried by a man towards an altar, beside which stands a bull, the most costly of all sacrificial animals (see [Fig. 3.19](#)).⁷⁶ While A. Ajootian suggests that this may celebrate the presentation of an infant on the occasion of the Apatouria, this seems unlikely given the finding of the relief in the sanctuary of Asklepieios where it is surely more likely to have been offered to the god in heartfelt request or thanksgiving for the god's intervention in returning a sick child to health. More convincing, however, is the connection with the *meion* celebration of a fourth-century votive relief from the Athenian Akropolis which shows a bearded man and in front of him a small boy standing before Athena.⁷⁷ While all that remains of the goddess is an outstretched arm, we may

be certain of her identification thanks to the owl which perches on her hand. Since the major deities associated with the Athenian *phratries* were Athena Phratria, Zeus Phratrios and Apollo Patroos, it is conceivable that this fine votive offering to the goddess was set up by the child's family to memorialise his *phratry* introduction.⁷⁸ While it is true that the small naked boy, who stands independently and unaided, has grown beyond the infant stage and cannot therefore be considered as being presented to Athena Phratria at the first Apatouria festival following his birth, it may be that what we see here is one of those more unusual occasions, attested in the ancient literary sources, where children even as old as three or four seem, for one reason or another, to have belatedly celebrated the *meion*.⁷⁹

Centred on the child's incorporation into *oikos* and *phratry*, the rituals of Amphidromia and *meion*, which as we have seen are essentially invisible in the iconographic sources, involved the participation of the infant only after a passive fashion. The same, however, cannot be said of the Choes ritual of the Dionysiac Anthesteria festival.

Choes and Anthesteria

Much has been written over the years on the subject of children and the Anthesteria festival, and the association of the miniature *choes*, or trefoil-mouthed *oinochoai*, with both.⁸⁰ Indeed, it has become something of a



Figure 3.19 Attic votive relief from the Asklepion in Peiraeus, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3304, fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

dogma in Classical scholarship to assert that beginning in their third year Athenian children participated in the Choes festival of the Anthesteria on which occasion they were provided with reduced-sized versions of the adult *choes*, from which they imbibed their first taste of wine.⁸¹ These small red figure jugs display via their iconographic schemata a clear preoccupation with the lives of the youngest Athenians, being decorated with figures of infants and young children. It is, however, important to note that for the Archaic and Classical periods the association of the Anthesteria festival both with these child-sized *choes* and with children in their third year is not without problems. These problems concern, on the one hand, the late date of the relevant literary and documentary testimonia and, on the other, the strangely narrow chronological period, covering only the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the fourth centuries BC, during which the miniature *choes* decorated with child figures were produced in large quantities.

Three late sources (second and third centuries AD) connect the Choes celebration of the Anthesteria festival with children. The first, an inscription of a religious group called the Iobacchoi, broadly situates first participation in the Choes somewhere between birth and *ephebeia*.⁸² The second, a passage in Philostratos' *Heroicus*, describes children being crowned with flowers in their third year during the month of Anthesterion, and further seems to associate the occasion with the festival of Dionysos celebrated in the same month: in other words, the Anthesteria.⁸³ The third late source, an inscription on an Attic tombstone which depicts a young, naked, standing boy, tells us that the deceased had reached the age appropriate for the Choes (*helikies Choikon*), but that death snatched him away before he could participate.⁸⁴ Since all these sources date some six hundred years later than the period with which we are concerned, they must be treated with caution as they relate to religious practice contemporary with the date of their production and not necessarily to a time hundreds of years in the past. Nevertheless, ritual constitutes a notably conservative cultural phenomenon, and it is not therefore impossible that the incorporation of young children into the Choes celebration dates back at least to the Archaic and Classical periods. Indeed, a late fifth-century BC reference in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* playfully puns on the term *choes* as both festival name and the standard Athenian unit of liquid measurement represented by the eponymous *oinochoai*, and associates these meanings with a child (or, rather, a wineskin disguised as a child) and its age as measured in the number of Choes festivals (three or four?) it has passed.⁸⁵ If, then, the literary and documentary sources admit the possibility that children, including perhaps those as young as three, took part in the Dionysiac Choes festival at least as early as the late fifth century BC, what can a study of the eponymous *choes* jugs tell us?

The association of the *chous* shape with the celebrations of the middle day of the three-day Anthesteria festival is not in question.⁸⁶ On the first day, which fell on the 11th of Anthesterion, the Pithoigia ritual was enacted. As

the name implies, this involved the opening of the now ready-to-drink pithoi of wine which had been made following the previous year's grape harvest. On the second day, the 12th of Anthesterion, the Choes ritual involved a drinking competition in which the winner was declared to be the individual who could first finish a *chous*-ful of wine.⁸⁷ The reason why the *chous* was specified as the ritual container lay in the fact that the full-sized *chous* jug functioned in Athens as a standard unit of liquid measurement, equivalent to some 3.2 litres. Many of the standard-sized *chous* vessels, otherwise known to archaeologists as Shape III *oinochoai*, have been excavated and demonstrated to have a capacity of some 3.2 litres, or some fractional proportion thereof (*demi-chous* = 1.6 litres).⁸⁸ The Choes day seems, therefore, to have been named for the vessel employed for the adults' drinking competition. In recent years it has been claimed that the iconography of the figure-decorated *choes* of standard size has no direct relationship with the Choes day of the Anthesteria and that the *choes* vessels used in the ritual must, therefore, have been plain ware versions of the container.⁸⁹ While I do not contest the proposal that plain ware vessels were probably most commonly employed in the ritual drinking contest, it is nevertheless likely that the Dionysiac iconography of many of the figure-decorated full-sized *choes* would have made them suitable for use in the Anthesteria ritual, and indeed in a few cases the patently self-referencing iconography of the full-sized figured *choes* would seem to link them irrefutably with the Choes festival.⁹⁰

The miniature red figure *choes* of late fifth- and early fourth-century date differ from the full-sized *choes* both in their dimensions and in their iconography.⁹¹ Their characteristic decoration presents young children either crawling or sitting or, alternatively, already standing and capable of independent movement (see Figs 2.3a, 2.7a, 3.11, 3.14, 3.15 and 3.20). They appear with a limited number of specific items presented in varying combinations: the *chous*, a wreath, a wheeled stick or cart, a table, cakes, grapes, a pet animal which is most commonly a small dog or bird, a string of amulets. These repeated elements have been dubbed 'tableau' motifs by R. Hamilton.⁹² While not all of the images depict a *chous*, many do, suggesting that the iconography refers to the Choes festival. A ritual or cultic setting is also underscored by the frequent presence of wreaths, either worn about the children's heads or placed around the *chous* represented in the scene: the former may perhaps be a reference to the longevity of the earlier-mentioned Athenian tradition of crowning three-year-olds with flowers, while the latter seems to echo what we know from the ancient literary testimonia of the practice of carrying one's festal wreath looped around the *chous* itself for dedication in the sanctuary of Dionysos in Limnai following the Choes drinking competition.⁹³ Sometimes the images on the miniature *choes* incorporate an altar in the scene, which we should probably understand as locating the image in Dionysos' temenos.⁹⁴ The iconographic motifs of *chous*, table and cakes would seem to refer to the Choes drinking contest and the prize awarded to the winner.⁹⁵ The commonly

appearing dog and wheeled stick or cart are usually referred to by scholars as characteristic children's playthings. However, their regular presence on the miniature *choes* suggests a deeper significance, particularly in view of their similarly repeated presence on children's grave stelai, and I shall return shortly to discuss their shared iconography and meaning.

The decoration of the miniature *choes* thus seems in large part to accord with what we know of the ritual celebration of the middle day of the Anthes-teria. Given, however, that these little vessels depicting young children apparently participating in the Choes ritual are a common product of the Athenian potters' quarter only in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC, we may well question this purported connection with the Dionysiac festival. For if they were indeed a ritual vessel employed by children in their celebration of the Choes day, why was their chronological pattern of use so restricted? In order to go some way to answering this question, let us begin by contextualising the small red figure *choes* of late fifth and early fourth century date within the wider pattern of the production and consumption of the miniature *chous* shape throughout the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Already from the early sixth century it is clear that the miniature *chous* was associated both



Figure 3.20 Attic red figure *chous* depicting a boy wearing wreath and amulet string crawling to a dog, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catharine Page Perkins Fund 95.52, ca 425 BC. Photo: © 2011 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

with children and with Dionysiac iconography. Excavation has produced examples of the vessel in the graves of children, while decoration of the shape in the black figure technique variously features images of Dionysos, silens, maenads, goats and fawns (see Fig. 3.21).⁹⁶ From circa 470 BC the iconography develops to incorporate figures of children pictured together with the so-called ‘tableau’ motifs, including the *chous*, the wheeled stick or cart, wreath, dog and cake: motifs which were to become so common in the late fifth century (see Fig. 2.7d).⁹⁷ Both boys and girls appear though, as on the later examples, boys are more numerous. Significantly, however, these earlier red figure *choes* children are clearly depicted as being well past the infant stage, and it is only some forty years later, circa 430 BC, that the crawling or seated infant figure makes its appearance on the mini *chous*. These observations lead me to suggest that until circa 430 BC the relationship between children and miniature *choes* was probably no different from that of adults with full-sized *choes*. That is to say, both adults and children would most frequently have utilised plain ware versions of the *chous* shape, full size and miniature respectively, in their celebration of the Choes day. However, some figured *choes*, decorated either with specific Anthesteria ‘tableau’ motifs or with more generic Dionysiac iconography, may also have been employed at the festival by both adults and children. This decorated version of the *chous* did not, however, come to be considered essential ritual equipment.

Why then, circa 430 BC, do we witness an explosion in the number of small, figure-decorated *choes* depicting ‘tableau’ motifs and, moreover, why at the same moment do we find significant shifts in the iconography of the child figure resulting in the creation of, and concentration on, the crawling or seated infant and chubby standing young child types? Over recent



Figure 3.21 Attic black figure *chous* depicting a fawn, Athens, Kerameikos Museum, sixth century BC. Photo: © DAI Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 21271.

years a number of scholars have sought to see reflected in these changes the impact of the Peloponnesian War. Between 431 and 404 BC ongoing hostilities between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies saw mortality rates sharply increase. At Athens this was a result not only of the inevitable war casualties among the adult male population, but also of the wider demographic effects of plague outbreaks in 430/29 and 427/426 BC. With these grim circumstances in mind, G. Raepset and C. Decocq suggested that the newfound playful child-centred iconography of the late fifth century miniature *choes* provided a form of nostalgic visual escapism for adults.⁹⁸ Subsequently G. Ham proposed that the miniature 'tableau' *choes* represented a ritual response to the social crisis of the war years and expressed the Athenians' anxiety about their diminishing population and also their hopes for the future as embodied in the new generation of boys participating in their first Anthesteria.⁹⁹ However, a recent paper by T. Hillard causes us to question the natural assumption that the children of Athens would, by comparison with the adult population, necessarily have been as severely, or more severely, affected by the plague outbreaks.¹⁰⁰ Hillard notes that Thucydides in his account of the Peloponnesian War, remarks (6.26.2) that Athens in 415 BC witnessed something of a revival from the earlier depredations of plague and war, thanks not least to the large number of boys who had now come of age. Hillard therefore argues that, since these boys reaching their eighteenth year in 415 BC would have been between three and six years old during the years when the plague ravaged the Athenians, the consequent implication is that three-to-six-year-olds were less susceptible to the fatal attacks of the epidemic than those older or younger than them.¹⁰¹ If Hillard is right, then the sparing of this particular age group of young children, newly emerged from infancy and eligible to join in the celebrations of the Anthesteria, must have seemed to the Athenians something of a divinely inspired miracle. In the course of his paper Hillard comments that 'one might have expected that such a reversal of natural expectation would have forced itself on the community's attention and prompted comment'. I would like to suggest that it did, and that the community's comment on and response to the phenomenon was the imbuing with increased significance of the celebration of the Anthesteria festival by this very age group of children, whose miraculous survival was marked by the introduction of new iconographic types: the crawling or seated infant, and the early post-infant stage as represented by the naked and standing, yet often still chubby, boy and the clothed and standing girl with hair worn in a topknot. In terms of ritual practice, however, little change is likely to have occurred. Both before and after the plague outbreaks, children were probably incorporated into the Choes festivities from their third year and continued to celebrate on an annual basis for the rest of their life, graduating from a miniature to a full-sized *chous* perhaps in late adolescence. In the late fifth and early fourth centuries the large numbers of figure decorated miniature *choes* suggest that

these may have become popular festival gifts given by parents to their children and most likely used by the children in their festal activities.¹⁰² Since, however, a plain ware *chous* would it seems have also fulfilled ritual requirements, the reduced production of the figure decorated mini jugs towards the end of the first quarter of the fourth century BC in no way reflected a change in ritual practice but only a shift in decorative fashion in a period when the heightened significance attached during the war years to the participation of young children in the Choes had lost its particular resonance. The Choes day was a celebration for all Athenians, young and old alike, a fact to which we are sometimes blind as a result of the evidence of the short-lived but emphatic Late Classical trend to decorate the miniature *choes* with images of very young children. As a result we tend to place too much emphasis on the importance of the celebration of the Anthesteria by children in their third year and attempt in a somewhat blinkered fashion to relate the iconography of the miniature *choes* to this sole demographic group. However, just as the pre-430 BC mini *choes* depict children well past the infant stage, these older boys and girls can still be found on the Late Classical jugs (see Fig. 3.22).¹⁰³ Furthermore, because the miniature, figure-decorated *choes* never seem to have become requisite ritual equipment, we should not be tempted to analyse their iconography too prescriptively: whether a jug depicts a child with a *chous*, a cart and a cake or simply a child with a dog (a motif to which I shall shortly return), the reference to the Choes festival is implicit in the vessel shape chosen for decoration.¹⁰⁴ The same cannot, however, be said of the image of the young child on the red figure squat *lekythos*, a shape which in the late fifth century adopts from the miniature *choes* the iconography of the crawling infant with amulet string.¹⁰⁵ The squat *lekythos* has no connection with the Anthesteria and, based on an analysis of its iconography which most commonly depicts female heads, women and Eroles, in addition to infants, seems largely to have been produced with a female clientele in mind. The crawling child with amulets motif depicted on the squat *lekythos* thus differs from that found on the mini *choes* in that it appears isolated and never in combination with images of the *chous* or festival table.

In the course of her thoughtful paper 'The Choes and Anthesteria reconsidered', G. Ham passes comment that 'a link between participation in the Choes and citizenship was perceived. However, the rite appears to have been designated for boys only.'¹⁰⁶ A consideration of the character of the Anthesteria festival leads me, however, to disagree on both counts. The Anthesteria was an all-inclusive celebration in which all sections of the Athenian community participated – citizens, free men, slaves, adults and children, even the dead.¹⁰⁷ It therefore seems unlikely that ritual participation defined by such broad commensality would have functioned *per se* as a prerequisite for citizenship. Indeed, it is more likely that it was the all-inclusive nature of the Choes day that rendered it appropriate as an occasion for the incorporation of children as a marginal social group into the wider community. Thus while



Figure 3.22 Attic red figure *chous* depicting an older boy dancing towards a *chous* in the vicinity of an altar, London, British Museum E533, last quarter of the fifth century BC. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

the Amphidromia ceremony effected the newborn's formal acceptance into the family unit, and the Apatouria introduced the infant to its wider kinship group, the Anthesteria for the first time presented the child in its third year, and thereafter on an annual basis, as a ritual participant to Athenian society more widely. Following the same reasoning, I cannot see why female children should have been excluded from the celebration of the Choes day. The scholarly argument for their non-involvement is usually based on the far smaller number of miniature *choes* depicting girls as opposed to boys. This, however, probably reflects the higher social value placed on boy children at Athens and the consequent increased likelihood that young boys would be endowed by their parents with the gift of a figured *chous*. Nevertheless, girls do appear as ritual participants on the miniature *chous* shape from the second quarter of the fifth century onwards (see [Fig. 2.3a](#)), though were probably more usually provided with a cheaper plain ware version of the jug on the occasion of the Anthesteria festival.¹⁰⁸

R. Hamilton, however, concludes 'that the females shown on the *choes* are likely to be adults'.¹⁰⁹ His hypothesis is based on a statistical analysis of the proportions of head to body size of figures painted on the *choes*, measured against the criterion that an adult figure's head constitutes no more than one seventh of the figure's total stature. Hamilton's statistics, which are based on van Hoorn's illustrated catalogue of *choes*, are however flawed by his misidentification of naked crawling baby girls as boys, and by the

non-inclusion in his figures of several of the van Hoorn illustrated *choes* which depict females.¹¹⁰ Hamilton's statement that none of the females has a head dimension more than one quarter of the total body size can, consequently, be shown to be erroneous and makes invalid his conclusion that girl children do not appear on the *choes*. His further claim that 'nakedness provides a further confirmation of the general distinction between adult and child' must likewise be refuted.¹¹¹ In the case of girl children the naked/clothed dichotomy seems, like crawling/standing, to function rather as a more precise indicator of the particular stage of childhood to which the figure belongs. Thus both boys and girls who are yet infants are naked figures who crawl or sit on the ground or, less commonly on the *choes*, are held in the arms of an adult. Sex is differentiated by the possession or absence of male genitalia and, in the case of girls, the gathering of the hair into a topknot. As noted by Hamilton, these naked, crawling figures are the children most likely to wear protective amulet strings.¹¹² Children who have passed beyond the infant stage are, by contrast, depicted as capable of independent mobility and therefore stand, walk or run: while boys are often still shown nude, or partially nude, early gender divergence is expressed in the more modest draping of the post-infant girls.¹¹³ Hamilton's observation that the wheeled stick or cart is most frequently associated on the *choes* with these non-crawling children capable of independent mobility renders this roller device largely suggestive of the post-infant, though yet prepubertal, life stage.¹¹⁴

If, then, we claim that it is possible on the *choes* to differentiate between iconographical types used to depict the infant life stage (naked chubby boys and girls usually wearing an amulet string, who crawl or sit on the ground) (see Figs 2.3a, 3.11 and 3.20) and iconographical types used to depict the immediately post-infant stage of childhood (chubby naked/semi-naked boys and clothed girls who stand/walk/run often with a wheeled stick in hand (see Figs 2.7 and 3.14)), how can we explain the fact that both age groups are represented in association with a *chous* which is frequently placed next to the figures either on the ground or on a low table, a motif which suggests ritual participation in the Anthesteria festival? If the earlier-mentioned Philostratos reference to the crowning of children in their third year during the month of Anthesterion, and probably at the Anthesteria itself, holds good for the Classical period, then I would suggest that the crawling and squatting figures denote infancy as the childhood stage which is about to be left behind by the first celebration of the Choes day, while the standing/walking figures, which in fact considerably outnumber the infants depicted on the *choes*, characterise the post-infant, early childhood stage now entered upon by the Choes participants.¹¹⁵

In addition to *chous*, table, grapes and cake which commonly appear with the children on the little jugs, a dog and wheeled stick or cart constitute frequent additions to the scenes. These are usually explained as the characteristic companions and playthings of childhood, and so they may have been

(see Figs 2.7a, 3.11, 3.14, 3.15, 3.20). However, their oft-repeated – almost canonical – presence on the *choes* would seem to suggest that they have additional and deeper significance. If their inclusion in the imagery was intended only to refer to the amusements of early childhood, then we might expect to find a wider array of toys and games depicted on the *choes*. But as Raepset and Decocq have pointed out, the range of childhood entertainments pictured is, in fact, very limited: an infant occasionally appears with rattle in hand, while only a handful of images present children with knucklebones or spinning top, or playing *passe-boule* or *ephedrismos* (see Fig. 3.11).¹¹⁶ On many occasions children do hold or approach a spherical object, which is often identified as a ball: however, the frequent addition of white to the object makes it likely that it is not a toy at all but rather an egg, a symbol of new life and rebirth appropriate at a Dionysiac springtime festival.¹¹⁷ Although the dog is the most usual animal companion of the children, a variety of other creatures do occur. These include birds of various descriptions including cocks and ducks, rabbits, goats and fawns, which appropriately echo the fecund and Dionysiac character of the Anthesteria (see Figs 2.7a, 3.14 and 3.23). With such considerations in mind, how then are we to interpret the particular popularity on the miniature *choes* of the dog and the wheeled stick or cart?

The wheeled stick is used in a number of ways by the children. It may be pulled or pushed, even waved about in the air, and is sometimes used to transport the child's *chous*, cakes or grapes.¹¹⁸ Even though only one wheel is depicted in profile view, we should probably therefore think of a device with two wheels connected by a little platform. Indeed on one *chous*, the platform is visible (see Fig. 3.15).¹¹⁹ Larger two-wheeled carts big enough for a child to sit on are also depicted on the *choes*: one child may pull another along, or the cart may be harnessed to a dog, goat or fawn, and driven by the child (see Fig. 3.23).¹²⁰ As R. Hamilton has pointed out, according to the ancient literary sources, carts seem to have had a particular association with the Anthesteria.¹²¹ Although, again, these literary testimonia date much later than the Classical period, they suggest that the Choes participants rode in carts, from which they engaged in mocking and reviling those they met, a mode of behaviour also engaged in at the Dionysiac Lenaia festival.¹²² I therefore suggest that the images of children riding in carts make reference to this ritual activity, and that their play with the simpler wheeled stick also symbolises the association of the *amaxis* with the festival. The connection of the miniature *chous* with the motif of the wheeled stick and cart dates back at least as far as the second quarter of the fifth century BC, when we already find images of children using a roller to transport a *chous*.¹²³ From the same time period comes also a miniature *chous* depicting a swan harnessed to a little cart on which sit two wreathed *choes*: no child is visible (see Fig. 3.24).¹²⁴ This early association of the mini *choes* with cart and wheeled stick used as transport for the *chous*, both in the presence and independently of children, seems therefore to emphasise the ritual significance of the *amaxis* as an iconographic motif linked with the celebration of the Choes day.



Figure 3.23 Attic red figure *chous* depicting a boy driving a goat cart, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 1921 (21.88.80), ca 400 BC. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.



Figure 3.24 Attic red figure *chous* depicting a swan pulling a cart loaded with wreathed *choes*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.5-1929, ca 460 BC. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The many dogs pictured on the miniature *choes* are of a type referred to as Melitaeen or Maltese, a breed which seems to have been kept as a house dog rather than as a working dog and which was, therefore, an obvious companion for children.¹²⁵ However, dogs also had strong chthonic associations which, given the nature of the Anthesteria festival and its connections with the realm of the dead, should not be overlooked. As has already been noted, the Anthesteria was a festival for all Athenians, including the dead who were believed to join the living in the celebrations on the third day of the festival, which fell on the 13th of Anthesterion and was known as 'Chytroi', involving the preparation of *panspermia* ('all seeds') in the eponymous *chytra* cooking pot for Hermes Chthonios who accompanied the deceased.¹²⁶ While the dead could appear to the living in the form of a dog, this is probably not how we should understand the many figures of Maltese dogs on the *choes*: a larger and more aggressive hound which attacks a boy carrying a *chous* on a miniature jug in Tarquinia is more likely to represent the dead in the guise of a dog.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, the special relationship of dogs generally with chthonic *kourotrophic* deities such as Hekate does, I suggest, endow the motif of the little Maltese depicted on the *choes* with a double significance: namely, that of both a childhood playmate and a reference to the darker forces of the underworld that circulated freely during the Anthesteria festival.¹²⁸ Indeed the presence of occult forces among the living during the Anthesteria may perhaps explain the frequent occurrence of protective amulet strings worn by the children on the *choes*.

In this context it is interesting to note the adoption of aspects of the late fifth-century *choes* iconography on fourth-century grave stelai erected for young children. While the erection of funerary stelai above the graves of infants remained a rare occurrence, the fourth century witnessed an increasing number of tombstones depicting children who survived infancy but died in the early childhood years (see [chapter 4.6](#)). On these reliefs, chubby naked or semi-naked standing young boys appear as on the *choes* with wheeled stick and/or canine, while modestly draped round-faced little girls also stand before a dog, though lack the toy roller (see [Fig. 2.3b](#)). The common presence of the dog on these children's stelai is again appropriate to the chthonic context.¹²⁹ Examples of free-standing sculpted canine figures erected over adult graves in the Kerameikos are usually interpreted as apotropaic, for the dog was capable not only of embodying the souls of the dead, as we have already noted, but might also take on an apotropaic character and protect the deceased by repulsing evil.¹³⁰ This apotropaic element perhaps also resounds on the children's grave stelai, where the dogs may have represented a symbolic offering to *kourotrophic* Hekate in return for her protection of the deceased. This hypothesis may perhaps gain support from the finding in the area of the Athenian Agora of a disused well dating to the Hellenistic period and containing the remains of 450 infants, neonates and foetuses, together with the bones of some 150 dogs.¹³¹ Though the well remains may

be interpreted in a number of ways (on which see below, this [chapter 3.4](#), ‘Death’), the association of the dog bones with the infant remains suggests canine sacrificial offerings to Hekate or Eileithyia. Similarly, in a non-Athenian context P. Themelis has reported finding dogs interred with children in Hellenistic *enchytrismos* burials at Messene.¹³²

The presence of the wheeled stick on children’s grave stelai may, meanwhile, have intentionally echoed the iconography of the miniature *choes* in order to create a visual connection with the ritual carts of the Anthesteria. Since on the grave reliefs, as on the *choes*, these devices are most commonly associated with children already capable of independent movement, rather than with crawling infants, the wheeled stick may indicate that a child died after reaching *choic* age. The little *amaxis* may, therefore, have been intended to convey to the viewer that by the time of the child’s death he had already begun his incorporation into the wider community via his participation in the Anthesteria festival. Perhaps, then, even though yet very young, the presence of his roller indicates the child’s piety in life and his proper observation of Dionysiac ritual. This may be particularly significant in view of Dionysos’ association with the underworld, an element which receives especial emphasis on a fourth-century funerary stele on which a boy and his roller are accompanied by a goat.¹³³ In the case of funerary stelai depicting girls, the motif of the wheeled stick seems to be replaced by a doll, which J. Reilly has convincingly argued is not a plaything but rather a visual allusion to the dedication during their lives by prepubescent and pubescent girls of terracotta female figurines to the gods and goddesses who oversaw their proper social and physical development (see [Fig. 2.3b](#)).¹³⁴ Thus, in the same fashion as the boy’s wheeled stick, the girl’s doll signals a message to the viewer about the piety of the child and her family and ‘their belief and participation in social customs and mores’.¹³⁵

The miniature *choes* themselves are also not infrequently found in the graves of children, where their significance has been variously interpreted by modern scholars. In 1971 J.R. Green advocated their manufacture for inclusion in children’s graves, and even earlier H.R.W. Smith had suggested ‘The miniature chous, as funerary vase, was especially for the child who died in babyhood and never lived to receive the Xotká of his first Anthesteria.’¹³⁶ Green, however, also pointed out that the little jugs occurred not only in infants’ graves but also in the graves of older children. But given the finding of the vessels in occupation deposits, such as those in the vicinity of the Athenian Agora, as well as in burials, there is little doubt that the small *choes* were made as much for use in life as they were for the grave.¹³⁷ In the funerary context, however, their use seems to suggest several possibilities.¹³⁸ When they occur in the grave of an infant, Smith’s interpretation of their presence as a poignant marker of the child’s untimely death before first celebration of the Anthesteria seems highly likely. Such a meaning may also be intended by the decoration of a grave stele in Peiraeus Archaeological

Museum (see Fig. 3.25).¹³⁹ On the shaft of the stele, which is crowned by an anthemion, the names of Sosimenis and Sokratis from the *deme* Athmonon are inscribed above the relief representation of a *chous* and, below the *chous*, a now fragmentary *loutrophoros*. Given that Demosthenes (44.18) tells us that a *loutrophoros* used as a grave marker indicated that the deceased had died before marriage, it is possible that the *chous* may have indicated death before the attainment of *choic* age. Where the *choes* appear in the graves of older individuals who died after celebrating at least their first Anthesteria, the significance of the inclusion of the small jugs must, however, be different.¹⁴⁰ As I have already argued for the case of the symbolism of the toy roller on children's grave stelai, I suggest that the inclusion of a *chous* in the burial made reference to the piety of the deceased during his/her life and, via his/her devotion to Dionysos as an active celebrant of the Choes while living, made appeal for the god's assistance in the afterlife.

Finally, before leaving the Anthesteria, a word about a swinging ritual which may also have formed part of the festival. A reference by the third-century BC poet Kallimachos mentions alongside the Anthesteria an annual



Figure 3.25 Attic grave stele of Sosimenis and Sokratis depicting a *chous* above the top edge of a *loutrophoros*, now badly damaged, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 2158. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

purification rite held in honour of Erigone, daughter of Ikarios who was said to have introduced viticulture to the Athenians.¹⁴¹ The Athenians on first drinking wine became drunk and, assuming that an attempt had been made to poison them, killed Ikarios. The grief-struck Erigone hanged herself from a tree, and in punishment the Athenians were cursed with an outbreak of suicides among their maidens. When the help of the Delphic oracle was sought, it advised that the Athenians should honour the dead Erigone by enacting the swinging of their children in a ritual known as the Aiora.¹⁴² Whether the Aiora was part of the Anthesteria, or constituted an independent ritual, is debated by scholars, although the iconographic evidence suggests that some form of swinging ritual did occur at the Anthesteria. A red figure *chous* dated to about 425 BC and attributed to the hand of the Eretria Painter shows a bearded man placing a little boy on a swing which, like the protagonists, is fitted out with leafy wreaths (see Fig. 3.26).¹⁴³ Two older boys, similarly wreathed, look on. As already noted earlier in this chapter, this is a very unusual scene, not least because it provides a rare example of an apparently mortal child in the care of a man rather than a woman. A second, slightly later red figure *chous* attributed to the Meidias Painter shows two women with a pile of folded lengths of woven fabric which they have placed on a swing and which they ritually purify by pouring perfumed oil onto a small fire which has been lit underneath the swing.¹⁴⁴ Watching the fragrant smoke rise is a young boy draped in a himation. The remaining figured scenes depicting a swinging ritual appear mainly on amphorai and hydriai and show a girl seated on a swing, an image which would seem to fit more neatly with the Aiora and its apparent focus on adolescent girls than do the pictures on the two red figure *choes* which associate the swing with younger male children.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, some of the vessels which depict the swinging of a girl also incorporate a male child in close proximity to the swing, and may be intended as a reference to the appropriateness of the rite for boys as well as girls.¹⁴⁶ Given the purificatory and expiatory nature of the ritual, which was intended to protect the young from the menace of death, its enactment would seem as relevant to young boys emerging from the perilous stage of infancy as it was to adolescent girls facing the dangers that were believed to threaten them at puberty. However, whether the *choes* scenes of a small boy placed on a swing or witnessing the purification of folded cloth lying atop a swing can be equated with the Aiora, which is the ritual surely to be identified where we see older girls swinging, remains unresolved. The choice of the *chous* shape for the boy swingers allows at least a tentative association of this ritual with the Anthesteria and, given the iconography of these young boys who appear to have reached the boundary between infancy and the immediately post-infant stage of early childhood, we might also suggest that the swinging ritual was perhaps conducted for those children in their third year celebrating their first Anthesteria. In this context, it is worth noting the strange object which on the Eretria Painter's *chous* is

situated on the ground between the swing and the pair of older boys who spectate. When scholars discussing this scene make any reference to this object they label it as a pithos.¹⁴⁷ A pithos set in the ground does appear on some of the vases depicting older female swingers, where its presence alludes to the wine of Dionysos which set in motion the dreadful chain of events leading to the death of Erigone.¹⁴⁸ However, in these scenes the object is clearly recognisable as a pithos with flaring neck and bulbous body. By contrast, the so-called ‘pithos’ on the Eretria Painter’s *chous* has a long straight-sided ‘neck’ with a narrow ‘body’ beneath and appears, as a result, very unlike a pithos at all. It does, however, look to my perhaps rather fanciful eye like an upturned *lasanon*, or infant’s potty high chair, which we have seen depicted in a number of red figure scenes of mid-fifth-century date (see Fig. 3.11).¹⁴⁹ If this is the case, then we might argue that the upturning of the *lasanon* on the Eretria Painter’s *chous* and the swinging of the child as part of his first celebration of the Anthesteria in his third year of life, implicates the Anthesteria festival as a ritual and symbolic marker of the survival and leaving behind of infancy and the transition to the next, early childhood, stage of life.¹⁵⁰

Infants as participants in family ritual

Thus far in our discussion of the infant’s place in cult and ritual we have concerned ourselves with examining the young child as a central focus of Athenian ritual concern: the Amphidromia, Apatouria and Anthesteria, together



Figure 3.26 Attic red figure *chous*, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Vlasto Collection VS319, Eretria Painter, ca 425 BC. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

with parental appeal to *kourotrophic* divinities, all placed the infant centre stage and addressed aspects particular to the earliest stages of life. Additionally, however, the iconographic evidence presents the infant as a ritual participant within the wider context of the *oikos*, where it is the *oikos* unit rather than any individual member that constitutes the focus of attention. This is clearly seen in a number of fourth-century votive reliefs which show a divine figure approached by a mortal group which, in its simplest form, comprises father, mother, one or more children, and also frequently at least one servant. Several times the servant is a nurse pictured towards the edge of the scene who holds a baby in her arms.¹⁵¹ As C. Lawton has observed, all such surviving Attic reliefs which incorporate an infant figure were dedicated to child-nurturing deities such as Artemis, Asklepieios and Pankrates, thus rendering the young child's presence in the family group particularly appropriate. Although visits by infants to the sanctuaries of the gods seem, if we pay heed to the evidence of Plato,¹⁵² to have been a regular occurrence, the infant figure does not appear in votive reliefs as frequently as the older child who is already able to stand independently (see Chapter 4.5): this would seem to underscore the as yet limited social and religious roles and identity of the first stage of life.

We earlier noted that certain rituals involving infants such as the Amphidromia, while documented by the ancient literary testimonia, are invisible in the iconographical sources. On occasions, by contrast, the converse would also seem equally to be the case. Thanks to the incisive analysis by A. Kauffmann-Samaras of the imagery on a number of fifth-century red figure *lebetes gamikoi* and the ethnographic parallels she draws with the practice of modern traditional wedding customs in Greece, we may reasonably claim an instance of the illumination of ancient ritual by the visual testimonia where the ancient literary sources remain silent (see Fig. 3.27).¹⁵³ Her study focuses on the re-examination of three nuptial *lebetes*, each of which shows a naked baby in the care of adult women.¹⁵⁴ Since the *lebes gamikos* was a vessel shape associated with the Athenian wedding, scholars generally identify the presence of a woman with infant as a visualisation of the future offspring of the marriage held in the arms of the bride. However, as Kauffman-Samaras points out, the inclusion in two of the scenes, both attributed to the Washing Painter, of a woman approaching with a *loutrophoros*, a ritual vessel which contained the water for the pre-nuptial bath, identifies the events as marriage preparations taking place in advance of the wedding. In this case, the child as offspring of the union appears misplaced. In attempting an alternative explanation for the presence of the infant, Kauffmann-Samaras directs our attention to superstitions and ritual traditions adhered to in the preparations for marriage in modern rural Greece. These variously involve the rolling of a baby boy on the bed of the future couple and, notably, the washing of a little boy by the bride taking her pre-nuptial bath, actions which are believed to enhance the couple's chance of producing a (boy) child.¹⁵⁵ Kauffmann-Samaras's interpretation of the iconography of the Washing Painter's *lebetes*

gamikoi seems highly likely,¹⁵⁶ particularly in view of the fact that we know from the ancient literary sources that an older child certainly played a good fortune-bringing role as *pais amphithaleis* in rituals observed as part of the Athenian wedding (see [Chapter 4.5](#)). However, Kauffman-Samaras's extension of her understanding of the symbolic presence of the child to the third *lebes gamikos* she discusses, a vessel decorated in the Manner of the Naples Painter, seems to be less credible. While the Washing Painter's scenes are populated only by female figures and clearly concern preparations for marriage, that on the third *lebes* shows a young man standing before a seated woman holding an infant (see [Fig. 3.28](#)). To the left a second seated woman is approached by a maid with a box. Kauffmann-Samaras suggests that the second seated woman is the bride to be and that the couple with child behind her are the parents of the baby who is brought to the marriage preparations as the symbolic bringer of fertility. Missing from the scene, however, is a *loutrophoros* for the pre-nuptial bath, a motif which on the Washing Painter's *lebetes gamikoi* clearly locates the events as taking place prior to marriage. It therefore seems more likely that what we see depicted here is not a pre-wedding ritual, but rather an idealised vision of the future conjugal life that marriage will initiate, and a projection of the resulting new nuclear family of husband, wife and the child to be born of their union.

3.4 Death

The final section of this chapter brings us to the subject of the infant and death. While we cannot recover actual infant mortality statistics for ancient Athens, studies of non-industrial modern and pre-modern societies and of



[Figure 3.27](#) Attic red figure *lebes gamikos*, Athens, Kerameikos Museum 2694, Washing Painter, ca 435 bc. Photo: © DAI Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 7089.



Figure 3.28 Attic red figure *lebes gamikos*, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1250, ca 450 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

contemporary Third World nations indicate that infant death in the perinatal period and throughout the first year of life may rise as high as 50%.¹⁵⁷ We should, therefore, envisage a high infant mortality rate for Athens in the Archaic and Classical periods resulting from stillbirth, difficulties in the birthing process, perinatal complications, poor hygiene, gastric distress

leading to fatal dehydration, and disease. The danger to infants of the perinatal phase immediately preceding, during and following birth is, indeed, recorded by Aristotle who, in his *Historia Animalium* (588a 8–10), notes that the majority of infant deaths occurred before the end of the first week of life. Provided that a child survived the perinatal period, the next critical health challenge to its young life would regularly have been presented by the weaning process (on which subject see [Chapter 3.2](#)) since the infant's digestive system possesses little resistance to bacteria that may be introduced with non-sterile feeding equipment, water and prepared foods. Given, therefore, that a high infant mortality rate would have constituted a harsh fact of life for the ancient Greeks, it is perhaps not surprising that M. Golden has observed that surviving ancient epitaphs from across the Greek world never describe the death of children under the age of two as *ahoros*, or untimely.¹⁵⁸ This perhaps suggests that acceptance of infant mortality as a common, and probably often anticipated, event may have been one way of dealing, at both the communal and the individual level, with the frequent loss of young life.

A good deal of cross-cultural archaeological scholarship devoted in recent years to the topic of infant death has focused on attempting to explain the low recovery rate of infant burials in the material record, particularly in view of the high mortality rates that must have been experienced by this demographic group.¹⁵⁹ In this context, Athens and Attica in the sixth and fifth centuries BC stand out as an exceptional case against the general backdrop of 'missing' infant burials, since here the archaeological recovery of infant graves and remains approximates to the statistical profile of the burial composition we would expect for a pre-modern, non-industrial society.¹⁶⁰ A significant reduction in archaeologically visible infant burials observable in the fourth century BC at Athens cannot then logically be put down either to poor preservation of infant osteological remains or to bias in the physical recovery of archaeological deposits, factors which are not uncommonly cited in scholarship discussing the absence of infant burials in many ancient cultures.¹⁶¹ Before, however, attempting to account for this apparently puzzling state of affairs, let us first briefly review the ample evidence for infant burial in Athens and Attica during the sixth and fifth centuries.

S. Houby-Nielsen's careful study of child burial in Archaic and Classical Athens distinguishes age-specific categories of mortuary treatment accorded to the youngest members of Athenian society.¹⁶² Cremation was not employed for infants,¹⁶³ and the *enchytrismos*, or pot burial, most commonly in an amphora or *pithos*, was used for those who died in their first year of life, the very period during which mortality rates would have been at their highest. The frequent inclusion in the burials on the part of the burying group of grave offerings in the form of eating or drinking vessels, such as the *bombylios* (or baby feeder), reflects serious preoccupation with the nourishment of the child in the earliest stage of its life. From about 500 BC onwards older infants, aged between about one and three years, were also

marked out by their interment in terracotta *larnakes*, or tubs. For them the most common grave offering, which took the form of a terracotta animal figurine, related not to the concept of physical nourishment but probably rather to the developing child's desire for play. Significantly, in the case of the burial of both the younger and the older infant groups, Houby-Nielsen notes the absence of gender-specific grave offerings such as male-associated athletic equipment or female-related toilet items, indicating that Athenian society perceived the infant stage as essentially gender neutral. While some infant burials were located alongside adult graves, many by contrast were deposited in cemetery areas dedicated largely, or wholly, to children: such, for example, was the case in the burial grounds that lined the roads leading out from Athens north-west from the Sacred Gate, north from the Eriai Gate, and east from the Diochares Gate. Such child cemeteries are, furthermore, known to have existed elsewhere in Attica, such as at Eleusis.¹⁶⁴ In this context Houby-Nielsen advocates the agency of women in the burial of their offspring, since many of these child cemeteries lay near or en route to the sanctuaries of goddesses such as Demeter or Artemis where female cults concerned with fertility and *kourotrophic* aspects were celebrated.

The rise in the formal burial of young children, which begins in the Late Geometric period and extends to about 400 BC, was first associated by I. Morris with the emergence of the *polis* and the centrality of children to the maintenance of the citizen body and the survival of the city state.¹⁶⁵ We should not, however, be too easily tempted to simplistically equate the marked reduction observable in the fourth century of archaeologically visible burials of young children with a supposed weakening of *polis* emphasis on communal identity and well-being. In this context, Houby-Nielsen proposes that while during the Archaic and Classical periods 'female civic values . . . focused on the dutiful, child-bearing mother', by the fourth century these values had by contrast been replaced by ideals of 'luxury', 'leisure' and time for 'body care', values that 'may well have induced women to lose interest in the traditional burial customs for small children'.¹⁶⁶ However, two observations suggest that this is unlikely to have been the case. First of all, the fourth century witnessed the erection above women's graves of a hitherto unprecedented number of commemorative stelai which depict the female in the role of mother to a closely wrapped baby, crawling or sitting infant, standing young child or older offspring (see further below and also [Chapter 4.6](#)). And second, as A. Lagia has demonstrated, the marked reduction in the formal burial accorded children in the cemeteries of fourth-century Athens is restricted to infants in their first year of life, while no real change is detectable in the burial statistics of children older than one year.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, we should also note that it is precisely in the fourth century that we witness a marked increase in the number of funerary stelai erected above the graves of individuals who, having survived infancy, died at a later stage in their childhood. These stelai commonly depict a young, naked or semi-naked, chubby

boy with a dog, a bird and/or a toy roller or, less commonly, a young, modestly clothed, chubby girl with a bird, dog and/or doll (see [Chapter 4.6](#)). Such factors suggest that the burial ritual and commemoration of deceased children retained importance for the Athenians, and also that there was at the same time a shift in the location, and perhaps even the method, of the deposition of the youngest infant corpses. Given that the late fifth century, perhaps in response to the impact of increased mortality rates occasioned by the Peloponnesian War and outbreaks of plague, seems to have witnessed a loosening of earlier funerary legislation apparently effectively imposed in the Late Archaic period in order to curb lavish expenditure on funerals and funerary monuments, it may also be possible that for the youngest members of society intra-mural burial, commonly practised at Athens prior to 700 BC, once again now became an approved form of burial. In this context, an earlier-mentioned Hellenistic well excavated in the area of the Athenian Agora may offer us a glimpse of such intra-mural disposal practice, though at a date somewhat later than the period with which we are concerned. The well, dating to the second quarter of the second century BC, contained the remains of some 450 foetuses, neonates and infants, together with the bones of about 150 dogs.¹⁶⁸ Given the association of dogs both with children and with *kourotrophic* deities such as Hekate, the Agora well may bear witness to the intra-mural disposal of very young children accompanied by ritual canine sacrifice. Demonstrating, however, the mutable interpretative nature of archaeological evidence, the well deposit has alternatively been proposed as possible evidence for the practice of infanticide or child exposure. The additional presence in the well of an adult male suffering from severe osteoarthritis and an eleven-year-old juvenile perhaps suggests that the individuals found here may have been excluded from formal cemetery interment on the basis of physical or social handicap.¹⁶⁹ However, more definitive discussion of the factors that determined the location and nature of the disposal of these several hundred bodies must now await the publication of the osteological analysis of the human remains recovered.

With the possible exception of the Agora well, archaeological evidence for the practice of infant exposure or infanticide is non-existent. Nevertheless, the ancient literary and documentary sources indicate that the exposure of neonates did take place at Athens, though questions related to the extent of the practice, reasons for its employment and whether gender selection was exercised have given rise to heated debate among modern scholars.¹⁷⁰ In the absence of material evidence, it is not, however, my intention here to revisit these debates, and my comments on the subject are therefore brief. First, while ‘exposure’ and ‘infanticide’ are terms often used interchangeably in modern scholarship, it is important in the context of ancient Athens to distinguish between the two. ‘Exposure’ concerns the Athenian recognised practice of abandoning an unwanted neonate outside the protective boundaries of its neonatal home: fate subsequently decided whether it died, perhaps

from cold, hunger or predatory wild animals, or survived as a result of being picked up and taken under the care of a stranger. Any decision on the part of the family to expose a child had to be effected in the first few days of life before the celebration of the Amphidromia festival (on which see [Chapter 3.3](#)), which signalled acceptance of the infant into the *oikos*. ‘Infanticide’, on the other hand, refers to the deliberate killing of the child. While evidence for the active killing of unwanted newborns at Athens does not survive, it doubtless did on occasions take place. However, following the incorporation of the Athenian child into the family unit at the Amphidromia festival, any subsequent attempts at infanticide must have constituted a crime punishable by the laws of the state.

Reasons underpinning the decision to expose, or even kill, a newborn must have varied widely, just as today the decision to abort an embryo or foetus is dependent on a range of factors that differ from individual to individual. Illegitimate or deformed offspring probably faced the greatest risk, as perhaps also babies born to slave women, *pornai* and *hetairai*. Economic considerations are also likely to have played a major part in the decision whether or not to raise a child, and it is in this context that the heated modern intellectual debate about the potential gender bias pertaining to the practice of exposure has most relevance.¹⁷¹ Most usually it is claimed that more female children would have been exposed than male, with reasoning based on the argument that since daughters had to be provided with a marriage dowry, they would consequently represent a drain on the family’s wealth. However, it should also be remembered that, where males were concerned, Athenian law stipulated that the family’s inheritance had to be divided equally between the sons. Consequently the raising of a number of sons would lead to the division and dilution of nuclear family assets.¹⁷² With this in mind, I would like to propose a more nuanced approach to the question of infant exposure and gender selection: that is an approach more sensitive to the potentially influential variable of socio-economic class. For while poorer families, unable to support the demands of (multiple) dowry provision, might be more likely to expose a girl baby, by contrast socially elite families desirous of maintaining undivided their core wealth and property on which rested their power and status may have been more tempted to expose non-firstborn sons.

The only iconographic examples we have of exposure and infanticide concern mythological male children: not surprisingly, mortal infant exposure is never shown in Athenian figured art. Attic red figure imagery illustrates the myths of the exposure of Perseus and Oidipus, which the ancient literary sources inform us was ordered by their grandfather and father respectively as the result of prophecies that the children would grow up to kill them.¹⁷³ In the case of the baby Hippothoon, whom an Attic red figure *chous* depicts as rescued and suckled by a mare, the decision to expose the child was made by both his mother and grandfather on the basis of his illegitimate birth.¹⁷⁴ Illustrations in Athenian ceramic iconography related to infanticide include

Kronos' attempts to dispose of his baby son Zeus, again as a result of a prophecy that the child would overthrow the father, and the little Herakles beset by murderous snakes sent by his stepmother Hera who was enraged at the infidelity of Zeus.¹⁷⁵ It is notable that in all these cases the catalyst for exposure or infanticide is either illegitimate birth or other threat to the patriarchal *oikos*, factors which would appear to give mythological expression to the fears of mortal Athenian families in relation to their own reproductive morphology and its impact on issues of family inheritance and economic well-being. Perhaps, too, the representation in Athenian art not only of the exposure of child heroes but also of their subsequent rescue (Perseus by the fishermen on Seriphos, Oidipus by a shepherd, Hippothoon by a mare), gave expression to some hope on the part of Athenian parents when abandoning an infant that it would be picked up and cared for by others and thus escape a darker and more grisly fate.

Modern perturbation at the practice of infant exposure in ancient Athens has led some scholars to question the affective bonds between Athenian parents and their children and to suggest that a child's death did not have the same emotional impact as that of an adult family member.¹⁷⁶ However, consideration of the archaeological evidence for the careful burial of even the youngest children indicates that the death of a *wanted* child was a matter of great concern and significance for its parents. Indeed, in the case of a late fifth-century BC mass grave recently discovered in the Kerameikos cemetery, and identified by the excavators as the last resting place of a number of plague victims, eight infant occupants had been interred with far greater care than the eighty-nine adults buried in the same pit: for while the adult bodies had been hastily thrown in one on top of the other, the infant corpses received *pseudo-enchytrismos* burial via their concealment beneath carefully placed broken pots.¹⁷⁷

Athenian iconography presents us with a few examples of the commemoration of infant death either via the erection of a stone grave marker or the funerary offering of a white ground *lekythos* depicting a deceased child.¹⁷⁸ The earliest such surviving example is a tantalisingly fragmentary funerary stele erected at Anavyssos in the Attic countryside circa 530 BC (see Fig. 3.29).¹⁷⁹ It shows the head of an infant boy cradled gently in the left hand of a very badly damaged, presumably female, figure; while the upper and lower lids of the woman's open eye are sharply delineated, the baby's bulbous eye lacks lid definition and appears to be closed, probably indicating that he is dead. As a result of the stele's fragmentary condition, and the absence of an accompanying inscription, we cannot be certain in whose memory the monument was erected though, given the otherwise complete lack of Archaic funerary markers commemorating children, it seems highly unlikely that it would have been commissioned in the child's honour alone.

Fifth-century images commemorating infant death largely comprise those decorating white ground *lekythoi*. Most of these depict a male infant either



Figure 3.29 Fragmentary Attic grave stele from Anavyssos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4472, ca 530 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

crawling on the steps of a tomb monument¹⁸⁰ or perched, statue-like, atop it.¹⁸¹ On one white ground *lekythos* a baby boy seated atop a rock and accompanied by a woman greets Charon, who approaches in his boat to ferry the child to the underworld (see [Fig. 3.30](#)).¹⁸² One unique white ground image recalls the aforementioned sixth-century funerary stele for its apparent depiction of a dead child carried by a woman.¹⁸³ On the white ground *lekythos* the woman holds the infant's wrapped body before her and bears it towards a tomb topped by an acanthus finial (see [Fig. 3.31](#)).

Not until the fourth century, and even then on only a handful of occasions, do we possess clear evidence for the erection at Athens of monumental commemorative stone funerary markers above the graves of infants. Three such relief-sculpted tombstones dating to the second quarter of the century each depict a male baby squatting on the ground, a mantle slipping from its chubby physique (see [Fig. 3.13](#)): the two best-preserved reliefs present the child clutching a ball and either a dog or bird.¹⁸⁴ While each of these stelai commemorates a single infant, there also survive grave markers honouring a baby together with an older child, presumably a sibling: the clearest example of this is provided by the inscribed stele of Kerkon and Pamphilos on which a squatting semi-naked male infant reaches up to an older boy who clutches a toy roller and extends a bird to the baby (see [Fig. 3.32](#)).¹⁸⁵ Further, on a



Figure 3.30 Attic white ground *lekythos*: infant seated atop rocky outcrop greets Charon in his boat, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1814, ca 430–420 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

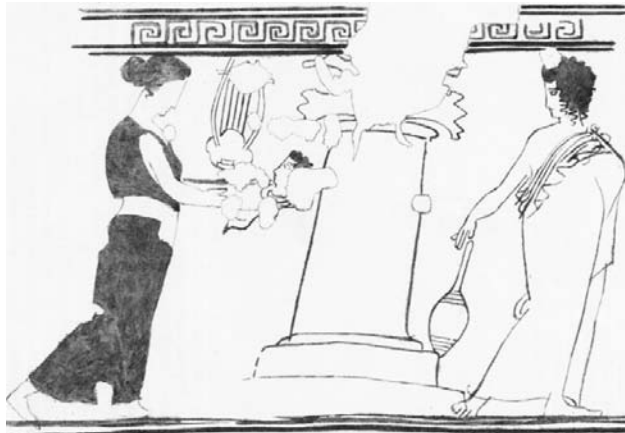


Figure 3.31 Attic white ground *lekythos* depicting a woman carrying a dead infant towards a grave stele, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Fortnum C.129. Photo: after P.Gardner, *JHS* 15 (1895), 327 fig. 1.

remarkable grave stele in Athens a baby, which to judge from its tunic-like garment is female, is accompanied by not one but two older children: a standing girl and a taller semi-naked boy with toy roller (see [Fig. 3.33](#)).¹⁸⁶ In the absence, however, of an inscribed epitaph we cannot be certain whether the stele honoured all three children or, perhaps more likely in view of the way in which the infant clings emotively to the leg of the standing youth, was a memorial commemorating only the death of the oldest of the three children.

The iconographic schema of a kneeling or squatting infant reaching up to an older standing figure is first found on grave monuments in the late fifth century BC and, though it never became a commonly recurring image, seems to largely have been reserved for the depiction of an older and a younger sibling and to have commemorated the death either of both or of only the older figure. While the sub-adult status of both family members is usually clearly defined by the depiction of their physique and stature, attire, hair and/or attributes, in the case of the earliest occurring example, that of the stele of Mnesagora and Nikochares dating to circa 430 BC, Mnesagora is depicted as an adult female (see [Fig. 3.6](#)): indeed, were it not for the



[Figure 3.32](#) Attic grave stele of Kerkon and Pamphilos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 914, ca 400–375 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 3.33 Attic grave stele depicting three children, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1125, ca 375–350 bc. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

inscription identifying the stele as a memorial to brother and sister erected by their parents, we should assume that mother and child were here represented.¹⁸⁷ The monument thus serves to remind us that many grave memorials were probably ‘bought off the shelf’ rather than specifically commissioned, and that we should not rely on them to provide us with faithful profiles of those individuals above whose graves they stood.

While, as already stated, the image of an infant reaching up to a standing figure can on most stelai be identified as the representation of a younger and an older sibling, two funerary reliefs of early fourth century date in the Peiraeus Archaeological Museum stand out for their unique modifications of

the basic iconographic schema. One of the images decorates a marble *lekythos*, and here the group of kneeling infant reaching up to a standing figure is duplicated to create a symmetrical four-person composition in which two babies stretch up towards a man and a woman, presumably their parents, who shake hands above them (see Fig. 3.34).¹⁸⁸ The presence of two infants has led V. Dasen to suggest that we may have here a rare representation of twins,¹⁸⁹ though it remains uncertain whether they belong to the world of the living mourners or that of the commemorated dead. The second image, like that on the *lekythos*, characterises as adult the standing figure to whom a squatting baby reaches up.¹⁹⁰ Here, while we revert to a more usual two-person composition, the infant is depicted in rare fashion in the sole presence of a bearded adult male who, in the light of the accompanying inscription, should probably be identified as the Autosophos for whom the stele was erected (see Fig. 3.35). As noted earlier in this chapter, it is extremely unusual in Athenian iconography to find a man depicted alone with such a small child, for the role of nurturer and carer of the young did not constitute an element in the social construction of the ideal male citizen (see earlier discussion, Chapter 3.2).¹⁹¹ Such an intimate depiction as this of the close bond that could exist between father and child therefore constitutes a seldom-viewed vignette of Athenian private life.

The most frequently occurring image of the infant is that decorating fifth- and, increasingly, fourth-century tomb markers on which a seated, or more



Figure 3.34 Attic marble grave *lekythos* depicting two infants with an adult male and female, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 49, first quarter of the fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 3.35 Attic grave stele of Autosophos, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 17, ca 400–390 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

commonly standing, woman holds the child in her arms. In many cases, particularly when the original accompanying inscription does not survive, it is difficult to determine the relationship of woman to child: mother, grandmother, nurse? Also problematic is the resolution of whether the infant figure was depicted in order to characterise as nurturer the woman in whose honour the funerary monument was erected, or whether the infant's death was also commemorated by the same marker. All too commonly a scholarly assumption is made that the depiction on a tombstone of a baby alongside an adult female indicates that the woman died in childbirth (see earlier discussion, [Chapter 3.1](#)). This, however, is a simplistic and often erroneous conclusion and masks the variety of diverse reasons for incorporating the infant figure into commemorative funerary iconography. In this context the late fifth-century stele of Ampharete alerts us to keep an open mind when attempting to interpret figured imagery. The relief depicts a draped woman seated on a *klismos*, or high-backed chair: on her left arm she holds a baby wrapped in a mantle and in her right hand a bird (see [Fig. 3.36](#)).¹⁹² Were it not for the inscribed epitaph, we should most probably view the image as that of mother and child. However, the inscription informs us that the stele was erected to commemorate the death of Ampharete together with that of her little grandchild.

While funerary reliefs depicting a two-person group of a woman with baby are rare,¹⁹³ more common are images in which a standing female is added to the composition. She may observe the seated woman with child, receive from or hand a baby to the seated figure, or cradle the infant in her arms. In some cases, the standing figure is characterised as a servant by her dress, hair or stature,¹⁹⁴ but in other cases her costume, hairstyle and/or headdress, and her stature suggest that she is probably a relative of the seated woman.¹⁹⁵ While in most instances the baby is a closely wrapped, genderless and passive bundle, on a few stelai it is represented as a more active naked or semi-naked figure that gestures towards the seated female.¹⁹⁶ This we find to be markedly the case when we turn to fifth-century white ground funerary images of babes in arms who eagerly engage with their carers. On one of these vessels the child is clearly distinguished as female by its dress.¹⁹⁷ As on the stelai, these infants may be perched on the knee of a seated female,¹⁹⁸ or brought to her by a second woman.¹⁹⁹ In nearly all the white ground images the mortuary context is indicated by the presence of a tomb marker which the woman, or in some cases the man, to whom the child is brought may be seated on or positioned beside.²⁰⁰ While it is not always possible to determine the deceased or living status of the infant, on at least some vessels the child is clearly one of the mourners, a ritual role that is also earlier depicted on a number of Archaic black figure funerary plaques: one such plaque, dated to circa 600 BC, even shows a babe in arms raising one hand to its head in emulation of adult mourning gestures (see Fig. 3.37).²⁰¹

As noted earlier, the iconographic schema of a kneeling or squatting infant reaching up to an older standing figure seems by and large to have



Figure 3.36 Attic grave stele of Ampharete, Athens, Kerameikos Museum P695, late fifth century BC. Photo: © DAI Neg. No. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 2478.



Figure 3.37 Attic black figure funerary plaque, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 12352, ca 600 BC. Photo: after *BSA* 50 (1955), pl. 1: drawing by J. Boardman.

been reserved for the depiction on funerary stelai of an older and a younger sibling. The same conclusion cannot, however, be drawn concerning the familial relationship between a male, or less frequently female, infant who sits or kneels on the ground, or occasionally perches on a footstool, in close proximity to a seated man, or more commonly woman.²⁰² Since the adult status of the seated figure is often clearly indicated by a beard in the case of a male, or for a woman by attributes of maturity such as the *anakalypsis*, or veil-raising, gesture or association with wool-working activities, the relationship between baby and seated adult is most probably that of child with parent or grandparent. In most cases it is unclear whether the commemorative function of the stele extends to the infant, or whether the child's presence is intended rather to underscore the adult's role as progenitor and nurturer of offspring and *oikos*. In some cases, the monument was erected to commemorate neither infant nor seated adult, but rather a third standing figure: one such example is provided by the stele of Mynnias on which inscriptions identify the seated mature woman as Euphrosyne, who erected the stele, and a standing female distinguished as a *parthenos* by her long hair as Mynnias, the deceased daughter of Euphrosyne (see [Fig. 3.38](#)).²⁰³ Between them is a kneeling infant girl. The young child therefore seems to be both younger sibling to the standing female and daughter to the seated woman, her presence emphasising the strong familial and cross-generational bonds that unite them all.

In the fourth century the number of figures depicted on relief-sculpted



Figure 3.38 Attic grave stele of Mynnia, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California 71.AA.121, ca 370–360 BC. Photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

funerary markers multiplies and on those monuments that incorporate the image of the infant four- and five-figure compositions are not unusual. While the images may be variously composed, it is generally the rule that one adult figure is seated and that no more than one adult male, presumably the *pater familias*, appears in a single scene. These larger family groups may also include a child or children in addition to a baby: swaddled or closely wrapped babes in arms now appear alongside older infants who squat on the ground or perch on a family member's knee; more mature child figures may also appear. Most frequently the infant is one of two children depicted, but three children ranging in age from infancy to adolescence may appear.²⁰⁴ Interestingly, the only surviving funerary relief I know of that depicts an infant as one of four children commemorates the deceased woman Phanistrate in her professional role as a midwife (see [Fig. 3.39](#)).²⁰⁵

* * *



Figure 3.39 Attic grave stele of the midwife Phanostrate: Phanostrate, seated, shakes hands with Antiphile in the presence of four children (a baby boy and three standing girls of various heights and ages), Athens, National Archaeological Museum 993, ca 350 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

In this chapter I have examined the Athenian iconography of infancy according to a number of thematic categories (birth, nurture, cult and ritual, death), and as evidenced by a variety of artistic media (figured pottery, free-standing and relief sculpture, terracotta figurines). I have also attempted to trace diachronic shifts in the iconography from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC. Throughout the three centuries under study, the infant figure primarily constituted a powerful symbol both of *oikos* and of the ideal adult female's role as dutiful and productive wife and mother. However, in the late fifth and fourth centuries the infant also on occasions came to take centre stage: first, and most commonly, in the minor art of vase painting and, second, in the sculpted medium. Significantly, in all such cases the images were created for use in the ritual context: the red figure *chous* decorated with crawling or squatting baby was employed in the celebration of the Anthesteria festival; the white ground *lekythos* depicting the infant was

intended for funerary offering and commemoration; and the relief-carved stele stood as a permanent marker over the child's grave. While terracotta figurines depicting the young child had long been dedicated in the sanctuaries of *kourotrophic*, or child-nurturing, deities, the fourth century also witnessed the translation of these images into more costly stone. At the same time that attention shifted towards the representation of the infant figure, the infant body ideal also underwent a transformation from the miniature adult formula of the Archaic and Early Classical periods to a more naturalistic presentation: babies now commonly appeared with chubbier limbs, softer and less well-muscled physique, larger head and more childlike postures and behaviours.²⁰⁶

While the ancient literary sources indicate that infancy covered the first three years of life, the iconographical and mortuary evidence suggest that the ancient Athenians regarded this stage of life as being divided into a younger and an older phase. The earliest phase seems to have concerned the first year of life: should the child die during this period, it was accorded *enchytrismos* burial. In iconographic terms this stage may be equated with the closely wrapped, and sometimes swaddled, bundles depicted in the arms of adult females. An older infant phase, extending from the first to the third years of life, was expressed in art by the representation of small crawling or squatting figures, or alert babes in arms interacting with their carers. The older male infants appear naked or semi-naked, while females may be naked but are most commonly shown as clothed. For this age group, at least from circa 500 BC, the *larnax* burial is common. While the frequent differential nude versus draped appearance of, respectively, the older infant male and female figures suggests the early beginning of gendered identity creation, engenderisation of the infant phase is otherwise little apparent. Although the ancient written sources tell us that the birth of a child was publicly announced by its family by hanging outside the door of the house either an olive wreath for a boy or a garland of wool for a girl,²⁰⁷ this allusion to gender roles, namely the prize gained as a male athletic victor or the textiles woven as an industrious wife, seems largely to have related to the promise of the child's future life. While, as we shall see, mortuary evidence indicates the introduction of increasingly specific gender roles for older children and adolescents, the grave goods interred with infants were markedly gender neutral in character. In the next chapter, which treats childhood from the end of infancy to the onset of puberty, we will witness the gathering pace of the processes of genderisation and socialisation.

THE DEVELOPING CHILD

We come now to the period of childhood delimited by the end of infancy and the onset of puberty. This for the Athenians was a phase of life further divisible into a younger and an older stage. The younger stage which we, for ease of reference, might term 'early childhood', stretched from the third to around the seventh year of life during which time both male and female children continued largely to inhabit the domestic sphere of mother, female relatives and household slaves. As Xenophon informs us, families who could afford to do so might also now, particularly in the case of a boy, allocate a male slave to be the child's *paidogogos*, or care-taker.¹ Children who had passed beyond the infant stage to the early childhood phase were defined as being, among other things, capable of independent mobility, and in representational terms are presented as diminutive figures who stand, walk or run. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the iconographic differentiation of this early childhood stage is most clearly developed on the canvas of the late fifth-century miniature red figure *chous*, and is subsequently taken up by fourth-century relief-sculpted grave stelai. While boys are often still, like infants, shown nude or partially nude, early gender divergence is expressed in the consistently more modest draping of the post-infant girl. Amulet strings may still be worn around the torso of male and female, though they are not seen as commonly as on infant figures who crawl, sit on the ground or are held by an adult.

The older stage of prepubertal childhood began around the seventh year of life, when formal education was commenced by families who could pay teachers' fees. As we shall see later in this chapter, the question of education for Athenian girls is a vexed one, but we may safely say that it was mainly boys who were sent to school, while girls largely remained within the protected confines of the *oikos* where they learned domestic skills such as wool-working, child care and household management. Thus it was from this point onwards that the engenderisation and socialisation of the young in preparation for their adult roles in life began to accelerate and to increasingly impact on the experience of childhood and its social perception. By the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC the older prepubescent childhood stage becomes iconographically discernible from that of early childhood, at least

in the case of boys. Older boys may now be depicted in schoolroom scenes, and in other scene types may also be associated with schoolroom paraphernalia such as the writing tablet or lyre. While younger boys are, as already noted, often shown naked, these older boys are more commonly draped, unless nude in an athletic context, and are not infrequently tightly and modestly wrapped in a *himation*. No difference is, however, visible between the dress of the flat-chested girls belonging to the early childhood and older prepubertal childhood phases: prior to the late fifth century they wear either waist-girdled *chiton* or *peplos*, with or without *himation*, or ungirdled short *chiton*. In the late fifth and fourth centuries a high-girdled long or short *chiton*, often with chest cross bands or shoulder straps, becomes characteristic. It is consequently interesting to note that while in iconographical terms a discontinuity is observable in the representation of early and older childhood for boys, this is not the case for girls. Conversely, while a discontinuity in the iconography of young females may be observed between the prepubescent and pubescent stages, with the appearance of breasts, longer loose or braided hair, and the addition of a special mantle, no such clear iconographical markers distinguish prepubescent from pubescent boys: we are largely, therefore, dependent on pictorial subject matter and the inter-relationship and relative stature of figures (in paederastic courtship scenes, for example) for identification of an adolescent male youth. This is surely no coincidence, but rather the iconographic expression of the social significance accorded particular gendered life stages. Until a young girl reached puberty, her life was essentially a continuum of growth and development in the context of the paternal *oikos*. The critical change in her social persona, and on which her future life course depended, occurred at biological puberty when she became a marriageable *parthenos*. For the male many more transitions – biological, social, civic and legal – marked his passage towards attainment of his core identity as an Athenian citizen, and of these transitions one of the earliest in his young life was the commencement of formal education outside the confines of the *oikos* and in the company of his peers.

This chapter is divided into sections discussing nurture, work and play, education, cult and ritual, and death. As in the previous chapter, the primary focus is an analysis of the relevant iconographic evidence: figured pottery, funerary relief sculpture, votive free-standing and relief sculpture, and coroplastic art. It must, however, be stressed that the thematic categories of enquiry as I define them here are by no means mutually exclusive: for example, education of the young in literacy, music and athletics was intertwined with agonistic participation in the cultic context. Furthermore, although the iconography of adolescence will form the subject of a separate volume by the current author, it is impossible to completely separate discussion of the iconography of the developing child from that of pubertal youth, since certain categories of activity, such as education and particular forms of cultic involvement, concerned both prepubescent and pubescent groups.

4.1 Nurture

Images of child-rearing in the domestic context are rare in Athenian art. For most Athenians child-rearing was, of course, an integral part of daily life, but its artistic depiction clearly served little purpose. As S. Lewis has acutely commented in relation to pot painting: ‘It is easy to be drawn into the expectation that “everyday life” will naturally be documented on pottery; in fact, what is remarkable is not that some scenes should be absent but that any are present: why should painters . . . develop an interest in certain domestic tasks?’² What, furthermore, quickly becomes obvious in more broadly surveying extant images of family life that incorporate prepubescent child figures is that there exists marked iconographical variation according to the pictorial context and function of the artefact types bearing the images: that is, figured ceramics, funerary and votive relief sculpture, and terracotta figurines.

Outside the numerous terracotta figurines showing nurses and *paidagoi* with their charges, which I discuss below, only a handful of red figure vessels, all datable to the second and third quarters of the fifth century BC, present as their central pictorial theme recognisable images of the nurturing of prepubescent children in the domestic context. Three of these, a *pyxis* in Dallas, a cup tondo in Berlin, and a *kalpis hydria* in Munich, depict a naked boy in early childhood.³ On the *pyxis* the child is in the company of five women, while a set of closed doors and a *kalathos*, or wool basket, clearly indicate the interior setting (see Fig. 4.1). The image decorating the *kylix* tondo depicts a more intimate composition of the child with an adult woman, presumably his mother, grandmother or nurse, who prepares to envelope him in her heavy *himation*. A four-figure composition adorns the *kalpis hydria*: a young woman with *kalathos* by her side spins in front of a standing young man; behind her stands a small naked boy, usually thought of by scholars as the son of the couple, clutching his hoop and stick and looking up at a standing female figure carrying a box (see Fig. 4.2). Given the fine attire of this figure, her ornate diadem, and her particular hairstyle of long braid with ends wrapped and tied, she is best understood not as a servant but as a *parthenos* who is related to the young couple before her. It is possible that we have here no simple illustration of daily family life, but rather the occasion of the *epaulia*, or bringing of the wedding gifts, represented by the box borne towards the couple by the *parthenos*, which is known to have taken place on the day after the marriage ceremony. In this case, the little boy should not be thought of as the son of the married couple but rather as the *pais amphithaleis*, or auspicious child (about whom I will say more in section 4.5 of this chapter), who accompanied the delivery of the wedding gifts to the bride and groom.⁴

A further three red figure *kylikes* present older, closely draped prepubescent boys in the company of adult women. On one of these, a fragmentary cup



Figure 4.1 Attic red figure *pyxis*, Dallas Museum of Art, gift of the Junior League of Dallas 1968.28a–b, Aberdeen Painter, ca 450–440 BC.



Figure 4.2 Attic red figure *kalpis hydria*, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München SL476, akin to the Clio Painter, ca 440 BC. Photo: Renate Kühling.

tondo in Adria, the boy sits in front of a standing woman, perhaps his mother, who is spinning.⁵ A contemporary *kylix* tondo now in Basel similarly depicts a confronted boy and adult female, but here the boy stands and the woman holds up a wreath between them (see Fig. 4.3).⁶ On the exterior of the third *kylix* a boy stands before a seated woman who holds an unfurled scroll: given that the tondo of this vessel shows Nike offering a wreath at an altar, it may be that the boy is undergoing domestic rehearsals for participation in a competitive lyric event, and that we would therefore do well to consider this image as relating primarily to the boy's education (see Fig. 4.4).⁷ Nevertheless, since this is the only representation of which I am aware that shows a boy receiving training at the hands of a woman rather than a man, and since we know from the ancient literary sources that the teachers to whom boys were sent for their education were men (see this chapter 4.4), I think there is some justification for regarding this as a unique representation of domestic upbringing.

The sparse evidence thus presented by ceramic iconography for domestic scenes of child rearing focuses exclusively on male offspring. It is also



Figure 4.3 Attic red figure *kylix*, interior view, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Inv. BS442, Painter of the Fourteenth Brygos, ca 475 bc. Photo: Andreas F. Voegelin.



Figure 4.4 Attic red figure *kylix*, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 8210, Sabouroff Painter, ca 450 BC. Photo: Courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.

notable that of the vases we have so far discussed, only the Munich *kalpis* shows a young boy in the presence of an adult male and female, rather than female-only company: and on the *kalpis* I have already argued that the boy's relationship to the couple may be that of *pais amphithaleis* rather than that of son. On two further vases where a young boy is seen in the company of a man and a woman, the interpretation of the scenes and the identity of the child and his relationship to the adults is highly challenging. On a *hydria* by the Harrow Painter dating to circa 470 BC, an architectural façade clearly distinguishes interior from exterior space (see [Fig. 4.5](#)).⁸ Within sits a draped woman holding a mirror, while before her stands a boy wrapped in a *himation*. Outside stand a semi-draped bearded man, holding what is probably a money pouch, and a cloaked beardless youth. Scholarly interpretations of the scene have included on the one hand the presentation of the *oikos*, with its clearly defined spheres of interior private space occupied by wife/mother with prepubertal son, and exterior public space occupied by the husband/father and adolescent son.⁹ On the other hand, a sharply opposed interpretation, based largely on the presence of the money pouch in the man's hand, posits a visit to a brothel with the young boy variously identified as son or servant of the *hetaira*, or son of the bearded male who brings him to the woman for his first (hetero)sexual encounter. A roughly contemporary *pelike* in Münster shows another scene equally ambivalent in its meaning for the

modern viewer: perched on a chair placed between a young man and woman, a naked boy assists the woman in adjusting the girdle of her dress (see Fig. 4.6).¹⁰ Since the girdle was an item of clothing closely associated with the sexual status of the female, first put on at puberty, loosened for sexual intercourse following marriage and put aside for childbirth, this image possesses strong erotic connotations.¹¹ As with the last vase, however, determining the meaning of the scene as it would have been viewed in antiquity is more difficult. My suggested reading is that we have here an image of a newly married couple preparing to consummate their marriage for the first time: given that the ancient literary sources record a custom for a male child to sleep with the bride before or after her wedding, when his presence would be auspicious for her future procreation with her husband, the small boy who here stands on the chair assisting her with her dress might, as on the Munich *kalpis hydria*, be understood as a *pais amphithaleis*.¹²

While, as we have seen, it is difficult within the extant corpus of ceramic iconography to find any certain images of the post-infant prepubescent child depicted with both its mother and father in the domestic setting, the converse is true of martial scenes in which a warrior prepares to depart for battle. Such scenes are more commonly found on black figure than on red



Figure 4.5 Attic red figure *hydria*, Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, purchased in part with funds donated by Mr and Mrs James L. Ferman, Jr, 1986.070, Harrow Painter, ca 470 BC. Photo: Courtesy of the Tampa Museum of Art.



Figure 4.6 Attic red figure *pelike*, Wilhelms-Universität Münster 66, Eucharides Painter, ca 480 BC. Photo: Courtesy of the Wilhelms-Universität Münster.

figure vessels and, as noted already in [Chapter 3](#), may include the figure of the babe in arms as well as the prepubescent child.¹³ In such scenes the painter depicts an invariably male child with its warrior father and finely dressed mother, not as a result of any artistic interest in childhood *per se*, but rather as the symbol and embodiment of the productive *oikos*, whose very existence is now threatened by the departure for war of the *kyrios*, or male head of the household. Physical interaction in these scenes between parent and child is infrequently presented, though on a few vases the boys reach up with emotional gestures towards their father: the armed warrior does not respond, but the boys may be comforted by a white-haired old man, perhaps grandfather or *paidagogos*, a motif that unites the oldest and youngest generation and gives expression to the Athenian perception of the very young and the very old as incapable of the mastery of their emotions.¹⁴

Elsewhere in Athenian ceramic iconography it is difficult to identify the father–child relationship. This is not necessarily to say that it was not represented, but rather that we at a considerable remove of cultural space and time are not always able to easily identify interpersonal relationships

as depicted in art.¹⁵ A good case in point is provided by a red figure *pelike* in Berlin, decorated circa 475 BC by the Syriskos Painter, where the two sides of the vessel appear to contrast the gender-differentiated upbringing of male and female children (see Fig. 4.7).¹⁶ On one side a boy, tightly wrapped in a *himation* which is pulled up to cover the back of his head, faces a bearded man holding a staff. On the other side, a woman holding mirror and *alabastron* turns to look at a somewhat smaller, presumably juvenile, female who is engaged in tying her girdle: a diminutive attendant moves between them. Given the implications of girdle-wearing for the female's sexual status and life stage, I suggest that we here see an adolescent *parthenos* while, correspondingly, on the other side of the pot is depicted an adolescent boy suitably modestly attired for venturing into exterior public space. Do we see here the representation of the ideal father-son and mother-daughter relationship? Or is the boy accompanied rather by his *paidagogos*? Doubtless, in view of the erotic connotations of the girdle-tying gesture, some scholars might also prefer to interpret the female scene as one depicting an older and a younger *hetaira*.

The father-son relationship may perhaps also be presented by the image on a well-known *pelike* by the Eucharides Painter, now in Oxford.¹⁷ Here a bearded adult male observes a shoemaker cutting leather to fit the foot of a diminutive beardless male who stands atop his work bench. However, we should again allow the possibility that the male onlooker may be the boy's *paidagogos*



Figure 4.7 The two faces of an Attic red figure *pelike*, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 4496, Syriskos Painter, ca 475 BC. Photo: bpk/Antikensammlung, SMB/Johannes Laurentius.

rather than his father. Similarly ambiguous is the relationship between young boy and bearded adult male on the Harrow Painter's *hydria* illustrated in Fig. 4.5. As discussed above, while some scholars interpret this scene as representing father and son, others view the two figures as unrelated.

While the identification of the parent–child relationship is, therefore, often problematic in the case of ceramic iconography it is, happily, somewhat more straightforward in the relief-sculpted images found on many late fifth- and fourth-century funerary and votive stelai. Here in the religious and mortuary spheres of display, the social significance of the *oikos* and the affective relationships between children and their parents were stressed as markers of family identity and legitimation. While more will be said later in this chapter in sections 4.5 and 4.6 about the many votive and funerary stelai that present the nuclear family unit, and also about the numerous tomb markers that represent the close bond between mother and child, I pause here to comment on the rarer images of father with child. While modern commentators on the Athenian father–child relationship often assume that this was a distant affair,¹⁸ a number of pictorial reliefs encourage us to appreciate how strong, valued and worthy of display this bond could be. Thanks to the ancient Athenian practice of inscribing tombstones, we are often able to identify both the name of the deceased and those of significant family members. One such example names ‘Philokles, son of Dikaios and Dikaios, son of Philokles’, while the figured field accompanying the inscription presents an adult, semi-draped, bearded man leaning on a staff and handing a bird to a small boy (see Fig. 4.8).¹⁹ Philokles can, therefore, reasonably be identified with the mature man who, as father, holds out the bird to his little son Dikaios. While no other funerary stelai depicting an adult male with a child provide us with such a clear correlation between inscription and image, a number of other tomb markers may be interpreted after a similar fashion as depicting a father with his young son.²⁰ A few votive reliefs, furthermore, also show a bearded man presenting a boy to a god or goddess, and that it was common practice for fathers to take their young sons with them to sanctuaries to participate in religious rituals is underscored by comments made by Nikias in Plato's *Laches* (187e). One such image, already discussed in Chapter 3, adorns a votive slab of the mid fourth century BC from the Athenian Akropolis: here we see a mature, modestly draped adult male approaching the badly damaged figure of Athena with a small naked standing boy, perhaps a commemoration of the boy's *phratry* introduction by his father.²¹ Somewhat older boys appear similarly accompanied by a bearded draped man on two votive reliefs dating to the early fourth century BC: on one an inscription tells us that the nude male deity to whom the modestly draped boy is brought is Theseus, while on the other the nude male deity to whom a semi-naked youth is presented is recognisable as Herakles by the club he carries (see Fig. 4.9).²² Given the connection of Theseus and Herakles with the maturation of adolescent boys, it may therefore be that the significance of these votives relates to the placing of pubescent sons under their

care and influence. However, as already observed earlier in this chapter, it is difficult in iconographic terms to distinguish the older prepubescent boy from the younger adolescent male.

Funerary and votive reliefs do, therefore, allow us to cite examples of the celebration and commemoration of the relationship of father and young son. When, however, we attempt to identify images of father with young daughter, we find that the scant available evidence tends to resist simple decipherment and is instead often open to numerous alternative interpretations. The funerary stele of Xanthippos, sculpted circa 420 BC and now in the British Museum, is an example of an oft-cited image of what is generally assumed to be a father with his two young daughters (see Fig. 4.10).²³ Here a mature bearded man with *himation* wrapped around his lower body, shoulders and upper left arm sits on a *klismos*, or high-backed chair, and looks at the cobbler's last that he holds up in his right hand, presumably as an indicator of his professional identity as a shoemaker. On either side of his chair stands a diminutive female figure, one smaller than the other. The larger of the two



Figure 4.8 Attic grave stele of Philokles and Dikaïos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3947, ca 400 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 4.9 Attic votive relief dedicated to Herakles, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2723, ca 380–370 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

holds a bird in her left hand, regards the man and gestures to him with her left hand. She is finely dressed in *chiton* and *himation*, sports an earring, and has her hair elaborately bound up on her head by an *opisthosphendone*. Her attire, combined with the indication of her right breast beneath her *chiton*, suggest to me that despite her small stature this is no juvenile female but rather an adult woman, who may be more appropriately identified as the wife rather than the daughter of the seated man. The contrast between her appearance and that of the second, smaller female figure on the stele in terms of dress, hairstyle, adornment and gestures is particularly distinct: the smaller figure wears only a *chiton*, has short hair and reaches up both hands in appealing childlike fashion towards the seated man, who responds by placing his hand on her back. Her iconography, therefore, accords well with other contemporary images of prepubertal girls dating to the late fifth century. My proposed revised reading of this stele would thus group this image together with those more commonly appearing funerary and votive reliefs that depict the nuclear family unit of father, mother and child. While diminution of the figure of the female spouse is, admittedly, not well attested on fifth- and fourth-century sculpted Attic tombstones it is worth considering, given the date of the

Xanthippos relief which was manufactured not long after the reappearance at Athens of figured grave markers in the late fifth century, whether this was a short-lived iconographic convention that may perhaps have emulated an earlier Archaic artistic tendency to express social gender hierarchy via the depiction of relative stature: I think here of the Archaic stele of Philo and Megakles on which the female sibling is dwarfed by the male.²⁴ It seems further that a similar claim may be made for a second funerary relief dating to circa 400 BC, which again is usually interpreted by scholars as depicting a father with his two young children.²⁵ Like Xanthippos, Euempolos sits on a *klismos* and is approached by two diminutive figures, one this time male and the other female (see Fig. 4.11). Holding out a bird in his right hand, Euempolos extends his left hand towards a small boy who reaches out to him. Behind the boy stands a taller, yet still diminutive, female figure: she is attired in ornate adult fashion and calmly stands by observing the pair in front of her who, I suggest, should be identified as her husband and son.

Recently M. Xagorari-Gleissner has also addressed three unusual funerary relief images of a young girl depicted either shaking hands with a bearded



Figure 4.10 Attic grave stele of Xanthippos, London, British Museum 1805.7–3.183, ca 420 BC. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

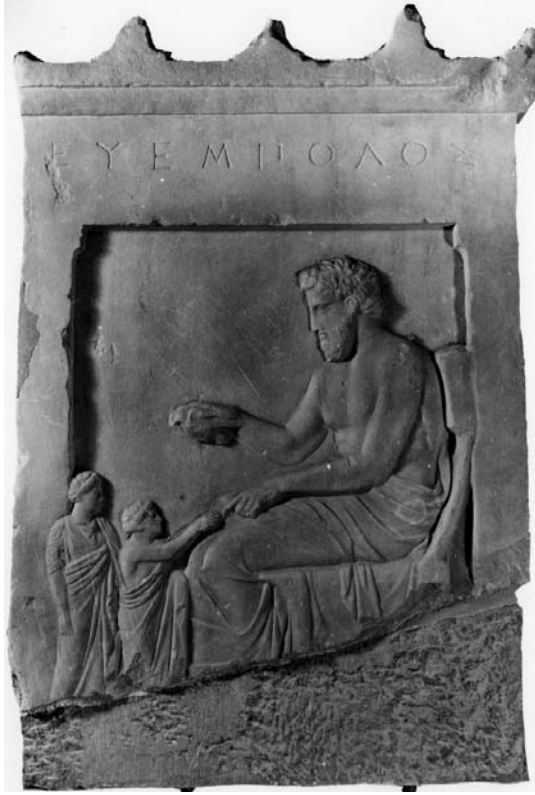


Figure 4.11 Attic grave stele of Euempolos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 778, ca 400 bc. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

man or, alternatively, in the presence of two adult males who shake hands.²⁶ Previously assumed by scholars to depict daughter with father, and/or other male relative, Xagorari-Gleissner has convincingly argued that what we see here is not the *dexiosis* gesture of farewell that is familiar to us on many other grave stelai, but rather the handshake of agreement and bond creation that cemented the betrothal of a young girl to her future husband, sometimes years in advance of her actual marriage. These images, and three others that also depict a girl either shaking hands with or reaching up to a bearded man, are further discussed later in this chapter (see [section 4.6](#)) (see [Fig. 4.59](#)).

There are, therefore, no extant images of which I am aware that unquestionably show the prepubescent girl in the sole company and simple care of her father. This should not, however, surprise us. While at a personal level the relationship between daughter and father would have been a fundamental one,

though doubtless one that also varied greatly in terms of its affective closeness or distance, it would seem that it was rarely a relationship deemed worthy of public display prior to the girl's arrival at puberty, when her increasing social identity and potential brought her into focus as a vehicle for alignment and alliance with another suitable Athenian *oikos* via the institution of marriage.

As noted earlier in this chapter, the nurture and rearing of prepubescent children fell not only to parents and other family members, but also in many households to female nurses and male *paidagogoi*, a situation neatly summed up in Plato's *Protagoras*: 'As soon as [a child] understands what is said to him, the nurse, the mother, the *paidagogos* and the father himself struggle that the child may be as good as possible.'²⁷ Since in many cases the nurses and *paidagogoi* would have been drawn from the slave ranks, we may observe a complex contrast between the relationship of the growing child with its parents and with its assigned carers of nurse and/or *paidagogos*, the latter usually being assigned to a male rather than a female child.²⁸ As noted already in [Chapter 2](#), M. Golden has convincingly argued that the ancient Greek term *pais*, in denoting both a child and a slave, suggests that the two groups were equated by the Athenians as inferior social constituents.²⁹ While, however, children and their slave carers in this sense shared an element of social identity, it was a situation subject to change, for once the children attained adulthood their social status was transformed and the balance of power between child and nurse/*paidagogos* consequently definitively shifted. Evidence of, and expression of, the resulting tension in terms both of the mutable nature of the slave carer/child relationship and as to whether it was deemed appropriate to expose future citizens to inferior slavish character and influence, may be traced in the ancient literary sources and this has again been ably discussed by M. Golden.³⁰ This in no way, however, detracts from the clearly strong and affectionate bond that developed between at least some Athenian children and their slave carers, proof of which may be traced not only in the ancient literary, but also archaeological, sources. This perhaps is clearest in the case of a number of funerary stelai erected in honour of nurses. While these have already been documented in [Chapter 3](#) (see [Fig. 3.10](#)),³¹ it is worth stressing a couple of points here. First, that all the extant relevant stelai marked the last resting place of a *titthe*, or wet nurse, rather than that of a *trophos*, or dry nurse and, second, that in those cases in which children are depicted alongside the nurse on her tombstone the youngsters are all depicted as having outgrown the infant stage. This suggests that wet nurses occupied a particularly valued place in the lives of growing children and their families, and that their role of care long outlived the child's physiological need for the nutrition of human milk originally provided by the *titthe*. A few funerary inscriptions indicate that grave stelai were also sometimes erected in honour of *paidagogoi*.³²

Ceramic iconography adds little to our understanding of the nurse-child relationship in the post-infant phase. With only one or two notable

exceptions, older children do not appear with their nurse in domestic genre scenes, though examples do survive of mythological figures, such as the youth Herakles, accompanied by a nurse.³³ Red figure images of the *paidagogos* are, however, somewhat more common, though in most cases the *paidagogos* is a secondary figure in schoolroom scenes where the central focus is on the education by male teachers of his young charge.³⁴ While in many classroom scenes the iconography of the *paidagogos* and the citizen male is interchangeable, both being represented as a mature, draped, bearded man leaning on a staff, on a handful of mid-fifth-century vases that are decorated with simpler two-figure compositions depicting only the boy with his caretaker, the slavish character of the *paidagogos* is visually expressed in the depiction of caricatured facial features, such as a hooked nose, and of his advancing age evidenced by a balding head and a stooping posture (see Fig. 2.5a).³⁵ While such representations remain rare in Athenian pot painting, it is this caricatured presentation of the *paidagogos*, and also the nurse, that is taken up in fourth century, and subsequently Hellenistic, coroplastic art. In his detailed study of nurses and *paidagogoi*, H. Schulze concludes that this marked iconographic shift occurred under the influence of theatrical prototypes. He also observes that these terracotta figurines of children with their caretakers often turn up in children's graves, suggesting a *kourotrophic* function in the mortuary context.³⁶

Finally in the context of nurture we come to the subject of punishment. Here Plato's *Protagoras* (325c), together with a number of other ancient literary sources, makes it clear that children's bad behaviour was rewarded with beatings by their parents, nurse and *paidagogos*.³⁷ However, Athenian art presents us only rarely with images of such chastisement in action. In total, I know of only five examples of representation of the punishment of the mortal *pais*, all of them in ceramic iconography and all datable to the second half of the sixth century.³⁸ In each case the chastised figure is a naked diminutive male who is beaten with a sandal. In four out of the five cases, the aggressor is a seated or standing adult male, and on two of these pots an approaching woman gestures excitedly, perhaps attempting to intervene in the action. On the fifth vessel, a *hydria* in Würzburg, it is more difficult to identify the aggressor: the already beaten boy, who carries sandal marks on his body, stands to one side while a reclining male youth animatedly addresses a naked woman who kneels before him with head submissively bowed (see Fig. 4.13). The male's reclining stance combined with the submissive nude female imply a *symposion* setting, in which case the diminutive beaten figure should perhaps be understood as a slave rather than a free child, though whether he has been beaten by his master or the kneeling female remains unclear. (More will be said on the difficulties of distinguishing slave and free children in the next section of this chapter.) The question of the status of the beaten figure on this pot also alerts us to be cautious in our interpretation of other punishment scenes. While the

two above-mentioned scenes in which women appear to attempt to intervene in the beating of a small figure may depict the chastisement of a son at the hands of his father and less enthusiastic mother, the two female-free images show the small beaten figure with an erect penis (see Fig. 4.12). This may be read, on one hand, as indicative of a slave's uncontrolled character and identity or, on the other hand, as introducing erotic overtones into the imagery. Given that in the mythological sphere sandal beating is an activity often depicted in association with Aphrodite, the suggestion of an erotic connotation does not seem far-fetched.³⁹ It is also worth noting that four of the five pots depicting the sandal beating theme were found in Italy, mainly in Etruria, and it behoves us therefore to consider the possibility that these images had been created for export rather than domestic Athenian consumption.



Figure 4.12 Attic red figure *pelike*, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia XXXXO.73, Euphronios, last quarter of the sixth century BC. Photo: Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Etruria Meridionale, Roma.



Figure 4.13 Attic red figure *hydria*, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg 530, ca 500 BC. Photo: Karl Oehrlein.

4.2 Work

The experience and social perception of childhood in Archaic and Classical Athens was greatly impacted by socio-economic status. In today's Western world children are regarded as having an inviolable need to play, while the legal identification and promulgation of children's rights ensures that individuals across the socio-economic spectrum do not join the mainstream workforce until they reach late adolescence. Such was not the case in Classical antiquity when the majority of children are likely to have been engaged in the productive economy, and when the level of their engagement was fundamentally determined by the child's free or servile status and, in the case of free children, the prosperity or otherwise of their families. In this context, Aristotle (*Politics* 6.1323a) observes that in those families unable to afford slaves, the not inconsiderable workload fell to the household's women and children. While there is no direct evidence for the age at which many children began to contribute to the Athenian family's economy, Roman literary sources suggest that by age seven juveniles were considered capable of productive labour.⁴⁰ Naturally, as their physical strength, gross and fine motor

skills, and mental cognition increased over time, their working capacity and abilities would also expand and gain in value to the household.

Children's labour in ancient Athens ranged across many different spheres of activity: agricultural, pastoral, domestic and industrial, with tasks to some degree being allocated according to age, gender, and free or servile status. As Xenophon makes clear (*Oikonomikos* 7.22), the ideal gendered division of labour rendered the domestic context the sphere primarily of female toil, and the external non-domestic context that of male. In reality, however, not all households would have possessed sufficient economic means to make this ideal labour division viable and we must, therefore, allow for some female labour contribution to the agricultural, industrial and mercantile economy. Given, however, that childhood is a period of training and socialisation that prepares the individual for future adult roles, we may assert that girls of citizen families would certainly have engaged in the core female activities of wool-working and childminding, and would have also been involved to some degree in the preparation of the household's foodstuffs. In families with few or no slaves, daughters together with their mothers would have undertaken a wide range of tasks: carding, spinning, dyeing and weaving wool, tending younger children, gathering water, grinding grain, making cheese, sweeping floors, cooking, washing clothes and so on. While young boys would also have been an integral part of, and sometimes minor contributors to, this world of female labour, once they reached the age of about seven they began increasingly to be incorporated into the male sphere of activity, with its focus on the household's agricultural and pastoral production and, at least from the late sixth/early fifth centuries BC, formal education in literacy as well as music and athletics undertaken beyond the confines of the domestic environment. Once again, socio-economic status would have determined the degree to which boys would have worked and the nature of the tasks they performed, and also what balance might be possible between work and education. In slave-poor households, sons would have played an important role in tending livestock, working the fields and, in coastal regions of Attica, fishing. Furthermore, many boys would have worked as apprentices in pottery, metal, cobblers' and masons' workshops.⁴¹ Slave children would have been engaged in all the work tasks so far identified, but for them there were also other, less wholesome, labours they might be made to perform, such as the prostitution of their bodies in the brothels of Athens or working in the cramped, airless and extremely dangerous tunnels of the silver mines at Laurion.

When, however, we turn to the iconographical record, we find only a very limited range of children's working tasks depicted. Most commonly for girls these involve child-minding, water-gathering, fetching and carrying for an adult, assisting in the dressing and toilette of an older female, and playing the flute in the *symposion* context (see Fig. 4.7).⁴² Boys are most frequently depicted serving wine or flute-playing at the *symposion*, or fetching and

carrying for an adult.⁴³ More rarely, they are seen busily occupied in craft workshops, fishing or feeding chickens (see Fig. 4.14).⁴⁴ While the noticeable scarcity of images depicting girls working wool and boys engaged in agricultural or pastoral activities would at first seem to be at odds with what we know of children's working roles in Classical antiquity, it serves to remind us that it was not the intention of the ancient artist to provide a pictorial record of child life. In almost all the extant images that incorporate the figure of the child worker, free or servile, the central pictorial focus is on the activities of the adult protagonists, while the children occupy supporting roles in their narrative. What we may glean from Athenian iconography is, therefore, only a tantalising glimpse of particular aspects of children's work.

A serious challenge that must be confronted when attempting to extract meaning from Athenian images of working children is the identification of servile and free individuals.⁴⁵ In some cases a clear distinction in status is observable, either by the contrasting juxtaposition of slave and free children in the same image, or by the demarcation of young slaves via the representation of non-Greek racial features. The former is most readily seen



Figure 4.14 Boy at work in a cobbler's workshop on a fourth century BC votive relief from the Athenian Agora, dedicated by Dionysius the cobbler and his sons to the hero Kallistephanos and his sons, Athens, Agora Museum I7396. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

on figure-sculpted funerary stelai erected for Athenian children in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC on which the deceased boy or girl dwarfs the figure of an attendant slave child (see Fig. 4.15).⁴⁶ Here, while both figures are children in biological terms, the diminution in size of one expresses its inferior social status relative to the other. African slave children, both male and female, appear on a number of red figure vessels, where they are variously characterised by a snub nose, curly hair, thick lips, and a full and prominent chin and jaw line.⁴⁷ We can with reasonable certainty also identify as slaves those children depicted by vase painters as engaged in such unsolubrious tasks as assisting a drunken male either by supporting his head while he vomits or by holding a pot into which he urinates (see Fig. 4.16).⁴⁸ Given, furthermore, that we know from the ancient literary sources that the *symposion* was not considered to be an appropriate environment for wives and daughters of Athenian citizen males, we can also conclude that attendant girls depicted in the *symposion* setting must be of servile status.



Figure 4.15 Attic grave stele of Demainete, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California 75.AA.63, ca 310 BC. Photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 4.16 Attic red figure *chous*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California 86.AE.237, Oionokles Painter, ca 470 bc. Photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

In other cases, however, distinguishing slave from free children can be more problematic. In many images, both sculpted and painted, boys and girls assist adults with various tasks or fetch and carry for them, and it is not always immediately apparent whether the relationship between them is that of master and slave, or parent and child. Nevertheless, the observation of certain patterns in the iconography helps us in deciphering at least some of these scenes. We start first with boys. As already noted in the introduction to this chapter, while males in the infant and early childhood stages of life are often depicted naked, older boys are commonly draped with the exception of those for whom contextual nudity in an athletic setting is appropriate.⁴⁹ The number of naked boys who accompany and assist adult males in both vase painting and sculpture far outweighs the proportion of draped boys who perform similar tasks, and it is significant that on late fifth- and fourth-century funerary stelai on which we can with certainty, or near certainty, identify the image of adult male with boy as that of father-son rather than master-slave, all the boys are clothed.⁵⁰ Furthermore, almost without exception, stelai erected in honour of male children depict the boys either fully draped in *himation* or, particularly in the case of the younger children, draped in token fashion with a *chlamys* or *himation* hanging over one shoulder.

Complete nudity is rare. This suggests that nude boys who attend adults on the funerary stelai are likely to be slaves with their masters, and I would therefore identify as such the much discussed youngster on the so-called ‘Cat Stele’ and the sleeping boy on the Ilissos Stele (see Fig. 4.17).⁵¹ Nudity is not, however, the only costume to be associated with slave lads in Athenian funerary sculpture and vase painting. While the full-length *himation* is the garb of the free boy, young male slaves may occasionally wear a short tunic or *exomis* (see Fig. 4.18).⁵² But how should we interpret a number of red figure *symposion* or *komos* scenes that present us with an attendant boy, sometimes playing the *aulos*, dressed in long *himation*? (see Fig. 4.19). These youngsters bear a remarkable resemblance to clothed boys who play the *aulos* either in educational or agonistic contexts (to be discussed later in this chapter), suggesting that they are free rather than slave children. Although it seems that youths did not gain the right to recline and participate in the *symposion* as drinkers until they reached the age of majority,⁵³ we might reasonably suggest that these clothed juveniles in *symposion* and *komos* scenes should be understood as sons of participant *symposiasts*. What better training for future citizens could there be than attendance as a, probably adolescent, boy at *symposion* gatherings? By spectating and assisting with the evening’s activities, though without reclining or imbibing, the youth would gain an understanding of what would be required of him as a full *symposion* participant once he came of age.

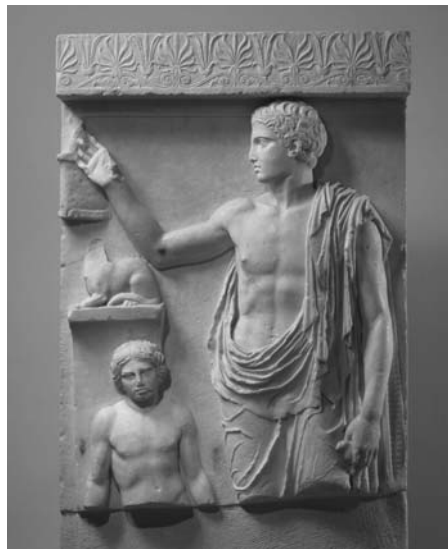


Figure 4.17 Attic grave stele depicting youth accompanied by young boy (the so-called ‘Cat Stele’), Athens, National Archaeological Museum 715, ca 425–420 bc. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

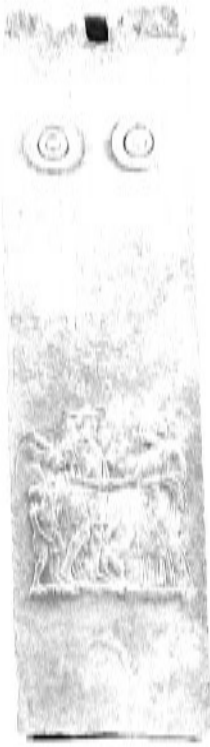


Figure 4.18 Attic grave stele of Antimenes and Olbia on which a slave boy dressed in *exomis* tends his master's horse, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, ca 320 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 4.19 Attic red figure *kylix*, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München 2646, Douris, ca 480 BC. Photo: Renate Kühling.

If now we turn to girls we are similarly able, in at least some images, to point to costume as an indicator of free or servile status. We may further add hairstyle as an identifier of social position, with slave girls in pot painting and sculpture frequently sporting short, cropped hair or, alternatively, a distinctive bob or page-boy style (see Fig. 4.7).⁵⁴ Often young slaves wear a long-sleeved *chiton*, or a three-quarter-length tunic worn over a *chiton* (see Fig. 4.15).⁵⁵ However, as slave girls may also don the *peplos* or short-sleeved *chiton*, which are garments also worn by free girls, costume on its own is not necessarily a reliable identifier of social status.⁵⁶ As a result, and in the absence of cropped or bobbed hair, we are not always able to distinguish attendant figures as either slave or free girls.

4.3 Play

If we turn now to the subject of children's play, we find the iconographical evidence supplemented by both the ancient literary sources and the survival in the archaeological record of the remains of children's toys.⁵⁷ While information about specific toys and games comes to us from late lexicographers such as Pollux, who wrote in the second century AD, already in the fourth century BC Plato and Aristotle expressed their clear appreciation of the importance of play in juvenile development, both men advocating that play should be directed towards the holistic education – intellectual, practical and ethical – of the individual.⁵⁸ Both strongly believed that children could be socialised via the agency of play and that this play should, therefore, be guided by adults in order to provide an early kind of training that would prepare the young for their later professional roles in life: thus, for example, constructing toy houses as a child would be appropriate for the individual who as an adult would become a builder.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Plato recognised that children also shaped their own play, drawing on their natural imagination and inventiveness.⁶⁰ While this latter aspect of Athenian children's play is difficult for us to access in the material record, there is no doubt that, for example, just as today a simple stick in a boy's hands could be transformed by the power of imagination into a sharp and glorious sword with which to do battle with a playmate. In the case of manufactured toys, their identification in the archaeological record is by no means straightforward. Terracotta animal figurines, miniature vessels, model furniture, dolls and knucklebones all survive in their thousands from Classical antiquity, and indeed all of these object types we know certainly to have served as children's playthings. But these objects could, alternatively, serve symbolic purposes in the mortuary and cultic contexts as offerings interred in the graves of young or old or as dedications made by adults as well as children to deities.⁶¹ Furthermore, in the case of knucklebones, these could even serve a divinatory function and act as a channel of communication with the divine.⁶² The context of object use and deposition must, therefore, be taken into consideration as a

modifying agent in our attempt to understand children's play and playthings in antiquity.

When we turn to the representation of child's play in Athenian art we must also approach these images with a degree of caution. All too often they are treated by modern commentators as simple illustrations of ancient children at play in the context of everyday life. We must, however, keep in mind that these images were not created as a photographic, true-to-life record and are, rather, artistic constructs that, while reflecting Athenian society, are likely to present an idealised and socially acceptable version of child's play that may, in some instances, be overlaid with deeper symbolic and ritual resonances.⁶³ No better example of this may be cited than that of two red figure images of boys with spinning tops accompanied by Hermes (see Fig. 4.20).⁶⁴ Here quite clearly the subject of child's play has been associated with the divine protector of youth and transitional states, calling to mind the words of the third-century BC *Palatine Anthology* (VI.309) that describe how in adolescence a boy would ritually dedicate to Hermes the toys of the childhood he was about to leave behind: in particular his spinning top, knucklebones and ball. These images should, therefore, be read as depicting the Athenian boy under the *kourotrophic* protection of Hermes and/or as marking the child's transition to manhood. Similarly, as already argued in Chapter 3, the wheeled stick, seen so often in the hands of boys on red figure *choes* and funerary stelai, appears to possess distinct ritual significance in the context of the Anthesteria festival and thereby to symbolise youthful piety and reverence for Dionysos. Furthermore, as also discussed in Chapter 3, images of children on swings resound with the overtones of purificatory and expiatory ritual activities engaged in at the festival celebrations of the Aiora and Anthesteria. It would also similarly seem that a deeper significance attaches to pictures of girls playing on a see-saw (see Fig. 2.3e).⁶⁵ These girls are consistently depicted as finely dressed, long-haired *parthenoi*, or adolescent maidens, who in one case are joined by winged Eros who hovers between them above the middle of the see-saw. Perhaps, then, the association of these maidens with the see-saw, an object characterised by movement, symbolically presents *partheneia* as a transitional state of being subject to the momentum of change that was catalysed by sexual love.

In recent years J. Reilly has convincingly argued that images of girls with dolls, which appear exclusively in the funerary context, conjured up for the ancient viewer not, as is often assumed by modern scholars, a vision of the pastimes of carefree girlhood, thereby it is claimed highlighting the untimely death of the female before she reached marriageable age, but rather signalled a message concerning the piety of the child and her family, and their proper observation of social custom and religious ritual during her life.⁶⁶ Although certain types of dolls were clearly made as toys for play and were customarily dedicated to Artemis by girls before their marriage, in the same way that adolescent boys dedicated their childhood playthings to Hermes, Reilly's



Figure 4.20 Attic red figure *lekythos* depicting an adolescent youth and Hermes with spinning top; note also the knucklebones bag suspended in the field, Tübingen, Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Inv. S./10 814, Painter of London E342, second quarter of the fifth century BC.

argument hinges on the very distinct type of female figurine represented on most of the relevant late fifth- and fourth-century BC funerary stelai (see [Fig. 2.3b](#)).⁶⁷ The figurines depict a naked, fully mature female with breasts that, in most cases, lacks lower legs and arms below shoulder level. Never do we see girls holding the jointed or articulated fully limbed dolls that are well known to us from excavated deposits and which apparently served both as toys and as votive offerings in life, and could be interred with the body of a girl who suffered an early death.⁶⁸ We know that a deep concern attached for the ancient Athenians to the proper development of the juvenile female body and its transformation from its sterile prepubescent phase via the onset of menarche to the fertile state of adolescence and its consequent potential for social maturation through marriage and childbirth.⁶⁹ In this context Reilly then points to the parallel that is observable between these naked, truncated female figurines held by girls on grave stelai and the well-known ancient practice of dedicating anatomical votives to the gods by way of request or

thanks for divine healing. She therefore suggests that, in order to safeguard her proper passage from childhood to womanhood, an Athenian girl and her family would, during her life, make offerings of the truncated female figurines, representing the mature and fertile woman's body, to deities of health and transition. In the event of the girl's untimely death, the erection over her tomb of a stele depicting the deceased clutching such a votive would then indicate to the viewer the child's pious observation of proper ritual, in the same way that I have suggested that the wheeled stick, and its association with the Anthesteria, indicated piety and divine reverence on the stelai of deceased juvenile males.

The evidence of Athenian iconography and archaeology suggests that some toys were considered to be gender appropriate: dolls for girls and the wheeled stick, or *amaxis*, and hoop for boys being common pairings. Again, however, we must remember that the material record presents us only with the artistic expression of the socially acceptable construct of children's play. In reality, it is very likely that, at least in early childhood, male and female siblings would have played together and shared their toys. Some toys, too, were clearly regarded as appropriate for both sexes, with spinning tops, balls and knucklebones being depicted equally in the hands of boys and girls. Knucklebones, or *astragaloi*, seem to have been a particular favourite of children, who are captured deeply involved in their play not only in the minor arts of pot painting and terracotta figurines but also, as Pliny reports, in the major art of stone sculpture with a statue group made by Polykleitos depicting boys playing *astragaloi*.⁷⁰ Indeed, so beloved a plaything were they, that we hear of boys competing in handwriting contests for a prize of knucklebones.⁷¹ In their commonest form *astragaloi* were simply the ankle bones of sheep or goats which, as a result of their compact and unusual asymmetrical form, lent themselves to use as dice in games of chance, with their different-shaped sides each being allocated a different value. They also served as the ancient equivalent of jacks.⁷² More costly versions of *astragaloi* were produced in metal, stone and glass. When not in use, they were stored and carried in a leather or net pouch, or *phormiskos*, that is often in Athenian art depicted in the hands of children or, as in Fig. 4.20, suspended in the field close by.⁷³ In one instance, a *pyxis* that depicts girls playing knucklebones has a lid topped with a handle in the shape of an *astragalos*, and it is perhaps not too far-fetched to imagine that this particular vessel may once have been the repository for the knucklebone collection of a well-born Athenian girl (see Fig. 4.21).⁷⁴

In addition to images of toy-centred play, Athenian iconography also depicts individual and team games. Some of these included the use of a ball, such as so-called *passé boule*, played by male and female alike, which involved throwing a ball through a wicket with a hole.⁷⁵ Dating to about 500 BC is an image carved in relief on a statue base from Athens that shows youths using curved sticks to play a ball game that, to our eyes, looks remarkably



Figure 4.21 Attic red figure *pyxis* with lid, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 1906 (06.1021.119a, b), ca 425–400 BC. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

like hockey (see Fig. 4.22).⁷⁶ But the game most consistently depicted in Athenian art from the second half of the sixth to the fourth century and beyond is *ephedrismos*. Thanks to the description of Pollux, we know that this involved one person being blindfolded while carrying a playmate on his or her back: the blindfolded player then had the difficult task of finding a target which had been set on the ground. If successful, he/she changed places with his/her opponent to become the one receiving the piggy-back.⁷⁷ Analysis of the iconography of *ephedrismos* reveals change over time.⁷⁸ While in black figure male boys or youths play the game in teams, in red figure a single pair is spotlighted. When female groups appear in the late fifth century, the participants are clearly delineated by the depiction of breasts as having passed beyond childhood proper, and it is not until the late fourth century, and in the medium of terracotta figurines, that prepubescent girls are shown engaged in the game. More rarely depicted than *ephedrismos* is *morra*, in which two players clutched the opposite ends of a stick between them while holding up a certain number of fingers with the other hand.⁷⁹ Whoever was first to call out the correct number of fingers held out by his/her opponent, scored a point and moved one notch further towards the centre of the stick. The contestant who reached the middle of the stick first won the game. A stick also featured large in a game of skilful balance seen

on a handful of fifth-century vases. On these vessels an adolescent female walks or runs while balancing a stick on the fingers of one extended open hand.⁸⁰ On one pot, a red figure *pyxis* painted in the Manner of the Meidias Painter, the girl is labelled as *Paidia*, the very embodiment of play itself. The choice, furthermore, of the figure of the adolescent girl as play personified is significant in terms of gender and age, since she is both female and also still associated with the world of childhood. The mature male, by contrast, is a figure distanced from play, both conceptually and iconographically, with his pastimes and concerns being rather the serious business of politics, war and high culture.⁸¹

In addition to toys and games, pet animals would also have kept Athenian children amused. Animals most commonly depicted with children in Athenian iconography are dogs, rabbits or hares, and various types of birds, with goats, fawns, cats and spotted cheetahs also appearing less frequently (see Figs 2.3b, 2.4a, 2.7a, 2.7e, 3.9, 3.14, 3.20 and 3.23).⁸² As with toys it is, however, important to question whether these images may have possessed deeper significance for the ancient viewer than simple replication of cute scenes of youngsters playing with their pets. The answer is almost certainly in the affirmative. A case has already been made in Chapter 3 for the chthonic significance of the dog which, particularly in the case of the Melitaeian or Maltese breed, frequently accompanies children on the *choes* and grave stelai. A larger breed of working dog is also seen to accompany older boys in Athenian figured art, and here the symbolic reference seems to point not so much to the hound's chthonic relevance but rather to its association with hunting, and consequently to the adolescent youth's participation in the hunt as an important feature in the process of becoming a man.⁸³ It is

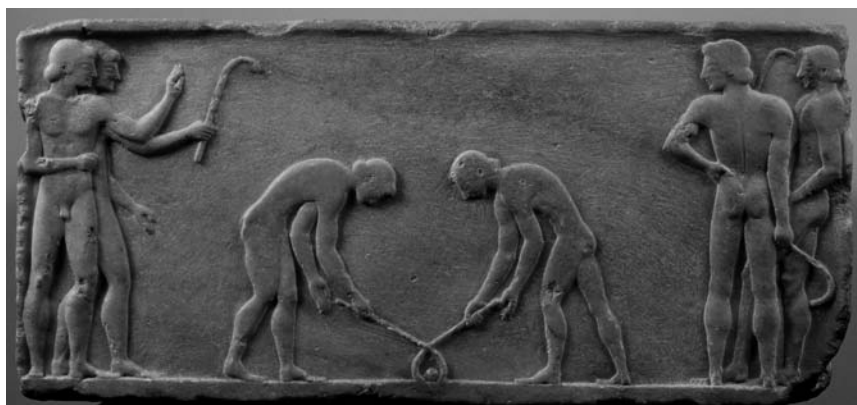


Figure 4.22 Attic marble statue base carved in relief, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3477, ca 500 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

clear that animals for the ancient Athenians had multiple associations and it is, therefore, important when seeking to extract meaning from images of children with their pets to carefully consider the particular stage of childhood depicted, the function of the artefact on which the image is found and, in some cases, not only the type of animal but also its species. Another good example of the multiple symbolic associations possessed by animals depicted with children is presented by the case of the hare or rabbit. Young children with hares appear most commonly on the *choes* or in votive statue groups where their symbolic significance would seem to relate to the fecundity engendered by proper observance of Dionysiac or other divine ritual. When, however, adolescent youths appear with hares either in vase painting or on funerary stelai, the reference points to the significance of the hunt and/or to the hare as a love gift offered in pederastic courtship.⁸⁴ Goats and fawns, meanwhile, appear most commonly as the companions of children on the *choes*, with goats also reappearing occasionally on children's funerary stelai: here, as already discussed in [Chapter 3](#), their significance for the child both in life and in death is to bear witness to the youngster's pious observance of Dionysiac ritual and thereby to ensure the god's benevolent and protective care. Domestic cats and spotted cheetahs are rarer, and more surprising, playmates of the young. Certainly not native to Greece, they must have been imported from North Africa, and appear in Athenian iconography in the company of older boys, adolescent youths or young men. A. Ashmead therefore logically concludes that, as an expensive and exotic pet, they functioned in Athenian life and art as a status symbol for wealthy aristocratic youths: this can be seen on the so-called 'Cat Stele' illustrated in [Fig. 4.17](#), where the youth's elite status is underscored by the presence of both a cat and a boy servant.⁸⁵ Discussion of birds, which together with dogs contribute the category of animal most commonly represented with children, I leave until my analysis of the iconography of childhood death at the end of this chapter.

4.4 Education

In turning now to a consideration of the iconography and social history of the education of children in Archaic and Classical Athens, it is important that we strive not to retroject our early twenty-first-century Western attitudes and educational ideologies onto the past. With some minor variations dependent on where we live, we now perceive school education as being every child's right from the age of around five to at least sixteen, and require the state to freely provide this schooling. We also place great emphasis on the importance of effective child-centred teaching and learning practices and, particularly in the pre-high school years, make the acquisition of fluent literacy and numeracy skills the core priority of the educational process. None of this was, however, the case in Classical antiquity.⁸⁶

While today equity of opportunity is dear to Western ideology, in Athens of the sixth and fifth centuries BC securing a good education was essentially dependent on the inequitable ability of the child's family to pay for it.⁸⁷ At this time the state played no part in the provision of formal schooling, with the result that all lessons were taught by teachers engaged and remunerated on a private basis. Only from the mid fifth century did the state intervene in the case of boys whose fathers had been killed in battle fighting for the city, and in recognition of their sacrifice provided for their offspring an education at state expense. One consequence of this was that under the developed Athenian democracy even the sons of poor unpropertied citizens, or *thetes*, might potentially receive a schooling that would otherwise have been beyond their grasp. With the exception of such boys, the duration of the individual's education was also governed by the economic wherewithal of his family. For while the ancient literary sources suggest that formal tuition often commenced around the seventh year of life, no minimum period of education was observed and, as Plato noted, the length of a child's schooling was determined simply by how long his family could absorb the costs.⁸⁸ Furthermore, only from around the mid fifth century BC did any kind of 'higher' education become available for adolescent boys at the hands of philosophers who now established themselves prominently in the Athenian public sphere as specialists in youth instruction in return for the payment of a not inconsiderable monetary fee.⁸⁹

Before beginning their training under the tutelage of these philosophers in science, philosophy, rhetoric and other fields of intellectual enquiry, boys at Athens would have received the grounding of what we might term an 'elementary' education. But while literacy and numeracy certainly constituted part of this schooling, they seem not to have been held in quite the same elevated esteem as today. The driving principle behind ancient Athenian education was the socialisation of the young, particularly of those who belonged to citizen families, and while they would need some facility in literacy and numeracy in their adult lives, it was above all the acquisition of close knowledge of the great Greek poets, of music, and the physical training of the body that together constituted the hallmarks of the civilised future citizen. While the development of analytical and critical thinking, and of the art of debate, were skills clearly valued at the level of 'higher' education, such was not the case in the early school years when rote learning was the general educational method employed and, it was believed, desirable character traits could be instilled by exposure to the discipline of physical and musical training, and the emulation of models of behaviour found in the works of the great poets.⁹⁰ Such was the formal education deemed appropriate for boys. The education of girls was, however, a completely separate, and different, issue and to this matter we shall in due course return.

With these differences between modern Western and ancient Athenian education in mind, I now wish to more closely explore various aspects of

Athenian schooling already touched upon, with particular reference to the illumination provided by the iconographical evidence of the sixth to fourth centuries BC.⁹¹ Two further issues that will also concern us centre on change over time: namely, the oft-debated question of the relationship between formal schooling and the establishment of the democratic system at Athens in the last decade of the sixth century BC and, subsequently, the transition in the second half of the fifth century from the so-called 'Old' education to the 'New'.

In the period with which we are concerned, the iconographical evidence is essentially restricted to Athenian figured pot painting. Occasionally this is supplemented by terracotta figurines, although the educational theme is not taken up by the coroplasts with any enthusiasm until the Hellenistic period. Occasionally, too, we are presented with the evidence of relief sculpture, and in this context particular mention should be made of a fine votive relief of late fifth-century date offered by the woman Xenokrateia for the education of her son, Xeniadēs, to the *kourotrophic* Kephissos and other gods worshipped with him in his sanctuary at New Phaleron (see Fig. 4.23).⁹² The many-figured stone relief, as a costly votive offering, indicates the importance that attached to the proper training of an Athenian child, and it is interesting that the image represents Xeniadēs as a young, and certainly pre-pubertal, child who stands as a diminutive figure by the side of his mother who, in turn, is dwarfed by the gods who gather around them.



Figure 4.23 Attic votive relief offered to Kephisos and other deities by Xenokrateia for the education of her son, Xeniadēs, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2756, late fifth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

In considering images related to the formal training of Athenian children, we must be mindful of the close connection that existed in Classical antiquity between education and agonistic competition. Athenian society was highly competitive at many different levels, and this applied as much to children as to adults. Successful agonistic competition in recitation, music and athletics was the desired product and tangible display of the schooling of body and mind. This competition was often conducted in a ritual context and there is, therefore, some overlap between our discussion here of the images pertaining to childhood education and discussion of images relating to cult and ritual considered in the next section of this chapter. Furthermore, as we shall see, formal schooling embodied only one aspect of the ideal rounded educational experience of a boy from a wealthy citizen family, for whom other activities in the communal ritual context, such as choral participation, constituted an integral part of training and preparation for adulthood.⁹³

In discussing education, Aristotle notes that it was customary for boys to be instructed in literacy (in which we should probably also include numeracy), physical training and music.⁹⁴ He also comments: 'There are two periods of life with reference to which education has to be divided, from seven to the age of puberty, and onwards to the age of one and twenty.'⁹⁵ While a firm advocate of state education, Aristotle here is clearly referring to the extended educational experience of the socio-economic elite. That this fourth-century description of formal schooling holds good for fifth-century Athens is attested by the evidence of red figure pot painting, in which we find images of boys at their lessons in reading, writing, recitation, singing, playing the lyre or flute, or exercising under the watchful eye of a trainer. Furthermore, the two age grades to which Aristotle refers are also clearly visible in the images, though some difference is in evidence according to the branch of education concerned. Scenes depicting boys engaged in literate or musical pursuits show prepubertal and adolescent individuals, both lacking in facial hair and both fully or partially draped in a *himation* but distinguished one from the other by their size relative to the teacher and/or *paidagogos* who accompanies them.⁹⁶ The contrast between the prepubertal and adolescent age groups may be seen in a comparison of the diminutive boys at their lessons on the exterior of Douris' well-known cup in Berlin with the school youths who equal in height the mature masters and *paidagogos* on a cup in Washington by the Akestorides Painter (see Figs 2.7c and 4.24). Very occasionally, as on a cup by Makron in Vienna, we also see youths with incipient facial hair engaged in formal instruction in literacy or music (see Fig. 4.25).⁹⁷ As previously established in Chapter 2, the representation of such fledgling facial hair appears to identify a young male as being of *ephebic* age, that is between about eighteen and twenty or twenty-one years. The existence of such images in red figure would thus appear to corroborate Aristotle's aforementioned observation that, for some at least, formal education could extend until the beginning of the third decade of life.



Figure 4.24 Attic red figure *kylix*, Washington, Smithsonian Institute, Department of Anthropology, Catalogue No. A136373, Akestorides Painter, ca 460 BC.



Figure 4.25 Attic red figure *kylix*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3698, Makron, ca 490–480 BC.

When we turn to images relating to the physical training of boys, a distinct difference in the age groups represented is noticeable by comparison with those already observed in the sphere of literate and musical education. For in the athletic context, prepubertal boys are largely absent and the overwhelming majority of youths who engage in athletic activity are either adolescent, being represented as equal in stature to their trainer, or *paidotribes*, but devoid of facial hair, or are of *ephebic* age and depicted of full height and possessed of an incipient beard (see Fig. 4.26).⁹⁸ Although, furthermore, Aristotle cautions against young boys engaging in hard athletic training lest it stunt their growth, it is nevertheless, in view of the cultural importance to the Athenians of physical training for the male, almost certain that prepubertal youths would have participated in some form of physical exercise and tuition.⁹⁹ The marked disinterest we observe on the part of the pot painters in representing such activity may most likely be linked with the issue of agonistic competition in athletics. Although there is much debate in the modern scholarly literature about the chronological age divisions relating to the distinct competitions established for boy *paides*, unbearded *ageneioi*, and adult *andres* in many of the state and panhellenic games, and while the corresponding precise age divisions probably varied from place to place, it seems that boys did not compete in athletics until they reached the age of puberty.¹⁰⁰ Certainly the youngest recorded athletic victor, Damiskos of Messene, was already twelve when he won the boy's *stadion* race at Olympia in 368 BC.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, at least in the Panathenaic Games, the *ageneioi* are likely to have been *ephebes* newly come of age between about eighteen and twenty years.¹⁰² As M. Bentz and B. Kratzmüller have pointed out, the distinction between the competitive classes of *paides*, *ageneioi* and *andres* is, rather surprisingly, not easily observed in the images decorating Panathenaic prize amphorae and in only a few unusual cases do the painters depict boy athletes noticeably smaller than the bystanding umpire.¹⁰³

When we turn from athletics to equestrian sport, a contrast is immediately visible. For while the figure of the prepubertal boy is infrequently depicted in the contexts of the pursuits of the *palaistra* and *gymnasion*, the diminutive *pais* on horseback is a common motif in Athenian pot painting of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. I employ the term *pais* here advisedly since, as earlier discussed, it can refer to inferiority both of age and/or social status and, since we cannot be certain whether the young jockeys in the prize games were slaves or the offspring of citizen families, we must keep an open mind concerning the interpretation of the small naked boys, their faces free of hairy growth, who sit atop their sizeable mounts.¹⁰⁴ Given that the winner in the *keles*, or horse race, was the horse owner and not the rider, little of the winning glory would have fallen to the young, lightweight jockey who steered the horse to victory. However, whether slave or free, training in the arts of horsemanship would have been necessary to the agonistic success of the young rider, a training that Plato clearly regarded as a desirable element



Figure 4.26 Attic red figure calyx *krater*, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC4196, Kleophrades Painter, ca 495 BC. Photo: Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Etruria Meridionale, Roma.

in the education of young boys from citizen families.¹⁰⁵ Further, on a red figure calyx *krater* of mid-fifth-century date the association in the upper and lower registers of the vessel of, respectively, boys competing in the *keles* and draped and wreathed youths apparently participating in the *komos*, or post-symposium celebrations, may suggest that both activities were regarded as appropriate for future citizens of Athens (see Fig. 4.27).¹⁰⁶

Scenes of the formal tuition of boys in *mousike* first appear in Athenian pot painting at the end of the sixth century BC, a matter of chronological significance to which we shall shortly return. *Mousike* concerned primarily learning to play the lyre and *aulos*, or double flute, singing and the recitation of poetry, all of which aspects of a civilised education appear in fifth-century iconography.¹⁰⁷ The teacher to whom the boy was sent for these lessons was known as the *kitharistes*, a term that gives expression to the primacy of the *kithara* as the favoured, and more challenging, stringed instrument of the expert musician. Just as in the case of athletics, training in *mousike* gave the boy access to participation in agonistic competition in which he was pitted against his peers. Most of these competitions took place in the cultic context, where again the competitors were divided into age classes. While it is difficult to determine the precise chronological age divisions that separated these classes it is, however, worth considering in relation to contests in singing whether the *paides* class may have been restricted to those



Figure 4.27 Attic red figure calyx *krater*, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 19846, mid fifth century BC. By kind permission of Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana, Palermo. © Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana.

boys whose voices had not yet broken. In this context Aristotle offers a particularly interesting observation that some young devotees of music even attempted to delay the moment when their voice would begin to change.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps, then, it is no coincidence that in a number of black and red figure images depicting musical performance and victory, the singer is represented as considerably smaller, and younger, than the accompanying *aulist*.¹⁰⁹ Participation and victory were all important in Classical Athens and while the prizes for boys who competed successfully were wide-ranging,¹¹⁰ an image decorating a mid-fifth-century red figure cup in New York suggests that in at least some competitive events the child-friendly prize was a sack of *astragaloi*, or knucklebones, so dearly loved as a plaything by Athenian children: in the cup tondo the boy, who has apparently won a victory in a lyre-playing

contest, performs his music before an altar while at the same time eyeing a large *phormiskos*, or knucklebones sack, suspended in the field (see Fig. 4.28).¹¹¹ The *Greek Anthology* bears witness that, at least in Hellenistic times, *astragaloi* were also awarded for boys' writing contests.¹¹²

That competition in the literate arts was also a feature of the young male's life in Classical times is indicated by Athenian iconography, one example of which is the image decorating a red figure Nolan amphora painted by the Ethiop Painter about 450 BC (see Fig. 4.29).¹¹³ Here an older youth who clutches a book roll in one hand is approached by winged Nike, the personification of victory, who prepares to adorn him with a fillet. Training for such contests involved attendance from young boyhood at the lessons of the *grammatistes*, or letters teacher. To him fell the task of instructing his charges in literacy and numeracy, and also of imparting to them knowledge and committal to memory of the great works of Greek poetry and prose composition. In this latter aspect, the training of the *grammatistes* shared common ground with that of the *kitharistes* who also educated the boys in poetic recitation, though to the accompaniment of music: to this overlap of the areas of fifth-century pedagogic expertise and experience we shall shortly return in our consideration of the diachronic evolution of Athenian



Figure 4.28 Attic red figure *kylix*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 1922 (22.139.72), Akastorides Painter, ca 460 BC. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

education.¹¹⁴ The equipment essential to the lessons of the *grammatistes* centred on the paraphernalia of reading and writing, such as book rolls, writing tablets and styluses, and these feature large on Athenian figure-painted vessels of fifth-century date. In a number of red figure scenes written text is actually represented on the open scrolls, and in most cases can be deciphered as poetry (see Fig. 2.7c).¹¹⁵ Writing tablets are depicted as having two leaves connected by a hinge: when closed their waxed surfaces, on which the boys wrote with a pointed stylus, were thus protected. The images also show that the closed tablets were fitted with a handle to facilitate carrying (see Fig. 4.24).¹¹⁶ Other items commonly depicted suspended from the wall in scenes of formal schooling are the *phormiskos*, or boy's bag of beloved knucklebones, a sandal or pair of sandals which, given their use elsewhere as instruments of punishment, were reasonably identified by F.A.G. Beck as a tool of classroom discipline, and a cross-shaped object which is harder to make sense of.¹¹⁷ This latter piece of equipment is visible on Douris's well-known cup, together with scrolls, writing tablets, one open and in use and one closed, a stylus and a *phormiskos*: also represented are the lyre, *kithara*, *aulos* and *aulos* case, as needed for education in *mousike* (see Fig. 2.7c). Given that the cross-shaped object appears consistently in such scenes of formal instruction, it clearly possessed some particular significance within the context of Athenian education, and it has variously been suggested that it might be a measuring device or a tuning key.¹¹⁸ Alongside such schoolroom equipment in scenes of literate and musical education we also see reference made to the third major aspect of the Athenian training of boys, namely the physical pursuits of the *palaistra* and *gymnasion*. Such reference is made by inclusion in the images of sporting paraphernalia such as the *aryballos*, *strigil*, sponge and *halteres* or jumping weights. The *strigil* and *halteres* appear, for example, together with the *phormiskos*, writing tablet, stylus, *kithara* and *aulos* on a red figure cup dating to the second quarter of the fifth century BC and now in Melbourne which, interestingly, appears to show the punishment of the loser in a musical contest juxtaposed with the adjacent celebration by Nike of the victor (see Fig. 4.30).¹¹⁹ This cup is one of several decorated by the Splanchnopt Painter who, like Douris, favoured the subject of youth education in his work. When, however, we turn to images of the athletic training and competition of older youths it is interesting to note that the paraphernalia associated with literate and musical education are here largely absent. In this context, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to propose that once a boy reached adolescence the honing of his physique and of his sporting skills may have taken precedence over instruction in literacy and music.

The presence of the writing tablet in Athenian figured vase painting is often treated by modern scholars as indicative of the schoolroom setting. However, since the writing tablet, and also frequently the lyre, appear additionally with boys and youths, and also sometimes with girls and women, in pictorial contexts as varied as the domestic, the *sympotic* and the equestrian,



Figure 4.29 Attic red figure Nolan *amphora*, Collection du Château-musée de Boulogne sur mer 667, Ethiop Painter, ca 450 BC. Photo: © Philip Beurtheret. Service photographique de la ville de Boulogne sur mer.



Figure 4.30 Attic red figure *kylix*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1956 (1644-D4), Splanchnopt Painter, ca 450 BC.

we should be open to the interpretation of the motifs as attributes more broadly signifying an educated individual.¹²⁰ In relation to book rolls, H.R. Immerwahr also notes that ‘while the earliest scenes depicting book rolls are set in the schoolroom, as the years go by the setting becomes indistinct and it is difficult to tell whether we are dealing with the schoolroom or private readings’.¹²¹ He further goes on to suggest that this may indicate ‘a development from an interest in books as school texts toward a more general use of books in private life’, a proposal which leads us nicely into a consideration of the relationship between diachronic developments in iconography, and the impact on literacy and youth education of the introduction of the democratic system of rule at Athens.

The appearance in Athenian figured pot painting of the last decade of the sixth and the first decade of the fifth century BC of scenes of the formal instruction of boys in literacy and music, and the continued popularity of these scenes in red figure iconography throughout the first half of the century, has for some time now been suggested as being linked with the roughly synchronous introduction and early development of Athenian political democracy. The proposal is predicated on the resulting need, as perceived by many scholars, for at least a level of functional literacy on the part of a much larger citizen body than existed prior to the Kleisthenic democratic reforms.¹²² Indeed, under the old system of aristocratic rule it seems likely that formal instruction in letters and numbers, together with training in music and athletics, was largely the preserve of boys of elite families. Although we know precious little about youth education in sixth-century Athens, the ideal model adopted for the schooling of the sons of the democracy seems to have been based, at least until the middle of the fifth century, on the so-called ‘Old’ education, being centred around athletics, music and literacy. And while paid teachers now became available to instruct the children of any family who could afford to pay them, the educational significance of boys’ participation in the chorus seems at the same time to represent a direct link between the oligarchic and democratic mechanisms of youth training. I refer here to the close association between education and choral instruction that is in evidence in the ancient literary sources of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Plato, for example, equates the uneducated man with one who has not participated in the chorus.¹²³ Furthermore, as P. Wilson has pointed out, the term *didaskaleion*, probably best translated as ‘school’, was used to define both the place where the chorus trained and where formal lessons in literacy and music were held.¹²⁴ While during the Classical period the major locus for boys’ choral participation was the tribally organised *dithyrambic* contests of the City Dionysia, which had probably been introduced as part of the Kleisthenic democratic reforms, choral participation of the young in other ritual contexts was a feature of Athenian life that had long pre-dated the Late Archaic period.¹²⁵ It therefore seems likely that in the sixth century BC youth education had been provided as part of choral training only to those boys

who by reason of their aristocratic birth were selected for chorus participation. Consequently the democratisation of the Athenian political system, and the intrusion of democratic capitalism into the educational process, resulted in an increasing demand for the lessons of the *grammatistes* and *kitharistes* and saw formal tuition become more widely available to those who could afford to pay for it, regardless of their social status. If this hypothesis of diachronic change is correct, the sixth century holistic approach to the education of boys via the choral system would have witnessed a shift in the fifth century towards an increasing division and specificity of educational tuition. While some boys would have continued in the choral context to receive a rounded training in music and dance and probably also literacy and athletics, others from inferior socio-economic backgrounds may only have been tutored in one or two branches of learning funded by their families outside the choral context.¹²⁶ Into this arena in the mid fifth century, furthermore, stepped the philosophers who offered, again for a fee, lessons which shifted focus from the traditional 'Old' educational approach of learning by doing to the 'New', and more controversial, method of learning by discussing. It is, then, perhaps no coincidence that around the same time in Athenian figured pot painting the earlier images of boys undergoing formal educational instruction in the conventional classroom setting fall from favour.

Roughly contemporary with the rise of the 'New' education and the decrease in frequency of red figure classroom scenes of boys being tutored by *grammatistai* and *kitharistai*, there is an increasing frequency in Athenian figure-painted pottery in the representation of cultured, literate females. While many of these may be identified as Muses, either by the presence in the scene of Apollo or by the inclusion of their names, on at least twelve vessels the individuals who engage in literate pursuits have no obvious claim to a mythical pedigree and suggest the possibility that by the second quarter of the fifth century BC at least some Athenian females received some tuition in literacy.¹²⁷ With, however, only two exceptions known to me, all of these images depict mature women. In only two cases do we see long-haired adolescent girls engaged in reading, and not until the late fourth/early third century BC do prepubescent girls absorbed in reading and writing tasks appear in the form of terracotta figurines.¹²⁸ Consequently, for the fifth and much of the fourth century we can deduce little from the iconographic sources about how, where and at what age some Athenian females may have acquired literacy skills. The ancient written sources are similarly silent on the subject, though Stobaeus quotes Theophrastos in the fourth century BC as stating that it was important for the purposes of household management that women should possess a degree of literacy. That formal education was less important for females than for males is suggested by the slightly earlier fourth-century author Xenophon, who sets education for boys in opposition to close protective guardianship for girls.¹²⁹ Most likely female education in the fifth and much of the fourth century BC was a highly haphazard and

individual affair and took place largely in the home, either under the instruction of closely watched private tutors or more casually under what we might call the second-hand instruction of the family's more formally educated male children, or of the household *paidagogos* who, in accompanying the boy(s) to his (their) lessons would probably himself have developed at least basic literacy skills. The image decorating a fragmentary late fifth-century red figure *chous* perhaps suggests such male-to-female transmission of literacy in the domestic context, with its image of a seated woman listening to a youth reading from a scroll (see Fig. 4.31).¹³⁰ Nevertheless, as the decades passed and female literacy became more established at Athens, mothers probably began to teach their daughters basic literacy along with the traditional female skills of spinning, weaving, child-rearing and household management.

Socio-economic status would have markedly impacted on female acquisition of *grammata* and also of *mousike*. While female slaves were doubtless illiterate, some slave girls would have been taught to play the *aulos*, or double flute, and to perform on the occasion of the male *symposion*.¹³¹ By contrast, females who were able to play the lyre and were literate can probably be divided into two main groups: those who, belonging to wealthy citizen families, possessed the leisure time and resources to acquire these skills and those who, often of *metic* or non-Athenian, status acquired the arts of the Muses in order to become well-remunerated professional courtesans or *hetairai*, Aspasia being the best-known and perhaps best-educated example. Furthermore, it was probably largely only this latter group of females who received anything other than a basic elementary education: we hear, for example, of Aspasia



Figure 4.31 Attic red figure *chous*, Copenhagen, National Museum, Dept. of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities 4997, Kraipale Painter, ca 430 BC.

engaging in rhetorical and philosophical debate.¹³² Both groups seem to be in evidence in the iconographic sources. In most of the relevant red figure images, the females are modestly draped and occupy an interior space, as frequently indicated by their use of the cushioned *diphros* or stool, or *klismos* or high-backed chair: nothing would seem to contradict the interpretation of these scenes as idealised domestic genre scenes.¹³³ In two cases, however, the images are distinctly different. On these two cups, one decorated by the Boot Painter and the other by the Painter of Bologna 417, both dated to the second quarter of the fifth century, the reference to literacy is made via the inclusion in the scenes of the *diptych* or writing tablet.¹³⁴ The Boot Painter shows the *diptych* suspended in the field above the heads of several naked women engaged in bathing at a laver. While most of these women wear a *sakkos* headdress, one bareheaded figure sports the bobbed hairstyle of a slave: that she is actively engaged in bathing alongside the other naked women suggests that these are probably not ordinary Athenian housewives, but more likely *hetairai*. The cup by the Painter of Bologna 417 has been the subject of much scholarly discussion. In the tondo we see two draped young women, one clutching a *diptych* with stylus in her right hand as she is pulled along by the wrist by her companion (see Fig. 4.32). On the exterior of the cup another twelve young women gesture and converse, while suspended above their heads we see another *diptych* with stylus together with two pairs of *krotala* or castanets used in dancing, a fillet, two wreaths and a sandal. This scene, with its references to female participation in literacy and dance, is unique in suggesting any kind of formal



Figure 4.32 Attic red figure kylix, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.167, Painter of Bologna 417, ca 460–450 BC. Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

communal schooling. The presence of the *krotala* has been suggested by some scholars to indicate that the women depicted are *hetairai*.¹³⁵ However, since *krotala* elsewhere appear in the hands of not only *hetairai* but also of very proper Athenian women and also of men, it is far from certain that the educated women on this cup should be understood as *hetairai*.¹³⁶

The subject of the *krotala* leads us on to a consideration of dance and the important place that this occupied in an Athenian girl's life. Indeed, dance tuition is the only element of formal training evidenced for young girls in the iconographic sources, and that for females in Archaic and Classical Athens learning to dance was probably of greater significance than acquiring literacy is suggested by the far greater number of figure-painted pots that depict dancing girls and women. However, much scholarship treating these images has to date tended to polarise discussion of the function of dance in society and of the identity and social status of the dancers depicted, characterising these as either dances enacted in the ritual context by the daughters of citizen families or as dances performed by slave girls, or free girls belonging to the lower social classes, for the purposes of entertainment.¹³⁷ However, to consider dance in ancient Athens in such a linear and mutually exclusive fashion is surely as erroneous and as misguided as trying to argue that dance in modern Western society may be characterised only either as the professional occupation of nubile pole dancers or as the reputable leisure pastime of girls who attend ballet classes! Dance of course is, and surely was, a much broader genre of activity that extends, and extended, into all social arenas: ritual, professional and leisure. The challenge lies rather in attempting to distinguish the different categories of dance and the discrete social identities of the varied performers who are represented in Athenian iconography. This is in some cases a straightforward task and in other cases almost impossible for us as modern viewers to determine.

Dances enacted by girls in the ritual context may be identified by the appearance of groups of young females, usually fully clothed, who hold hands and move synchronously, a long-lived iconographic motif that may be traced back to Athenian figured art of the Late Geometric period.¹³⁸ There are, furthermore, a number of black figure and red figure vessels that depict armed female dancers who also appear to perform in the ritual context. (Both types of dancers will be considered in greater detail in the next section of this chapter.)

Girls of servile and low-class social status whose dance skills were acquired for the purposes of entertainment are depicted in a different fashion. In the first thirty years or so of the fifth century, they are clearly identifiable in red figure, usually on cups or *pelikai*, as single dancers who practise their steps before an adult female *aulist* or perform before a man or men, sometimes in the *symposion* context.¹³⁹ Usually they are dressed in long or short *chiton* but can appear naked, have short cropped or bobbed hair, and frequently dance with *krotala*. Some, while being diminutive figures, are clearly identified as being of pubertal status by the possession of breasts, while in other

cases no breasts are visible. In the second quarter of the fifth century a shift may be observed away from the use of the cup as a canvas for the depiction of dancing girls and, perhaps not coincidentally, at the same time the depiction of male viewers of the dancers falls out of fashion. A diverse range of vessel shapes, including the *pelike*, *lekythos*, *amphora*, plate and *rhyton*, is now found.¹⁴⁰ While the figure of the female *aulist* continues to be represented, the girl dancer may alternatively now appear in splendid isolation as the single pictorial subject present on a vessel. Furthermore, while some of the girl dancers continue to be characterised as servile or low-class entertainers by their possession of short cropped or bobbed hair, in other cases their iconography is either indistinct or suggests that they may be identified as the daughters of citizen families. One such example is provided by the image on a stemmed dish decorated by the Dish Painter (see Fig. 4.33). Here a girl dressed in a short *chiton* and diadem dances next to a lyre which lies on the ground.¹⁴¹ Subsequently in the third quarter of the fifth century the Phiale Painter becomes the painter of dancing girls *par excellence*, producing at least eleven images that decorate mainly the *lekythos* and *kalpis hydria* shapes.¹⁴² This corpus of work by a single painter suggests the broad range of social contexts in which dance might be performed by girls belonging to many levels of the social hierarchy. In some cases it also challenges the modern viewer with an apparent ambiguity in the social context and dancer identity presented in the image. Notably, the male spectator of the dance now re-enters the imagery and on two vessels appears in association with a pouch which, if we are correct in identifying it as a money pouch, may suggest that the juvenile dancers are young *hetairai*.¹⁴³ J.H. Oakley in his book *The Phiale Painter* further extends this characterisation of the girls as professional dancers and entertainers to all of the dancing girls depicted by the painter.¹⁴⁴ This, however, seems unwarranted, particularly in view of the reference to ritual activity present on two of the painter's vases. On one of these vases, a *phiale* in Boston, the tension of interpretation lies, on the one hand, in the ritual function of the vessel shape itself and the representation of a winged Nike figure carrying sacrificial equipment on the central boss and, on the other, the representation in the main figured scene of a girl in short *chiton* dancing with *krotala* under the instruction of an adult female and the gaze of a male onlooker (see Fig. 4.34).¹⁴⁵ Further, on one side of a neck *amphora* in Brussels, a girl in short *chiton* dances with *krotala* before a woman holding the *narthex* as symbol of her authority as teacher, while on the other side of the vessel a man and woman pour a libation over an altar.¹⁴⁶ While the images decorating the two sides of the vase may perhaps be unrelated one to the other, it is worth contemplating the possibility that the two scenes should be read together, particularly in view of the imagery on the Boston *phiale*. At the very least, these two vessels by the Phiale Painter should make us cautious about taking a simplistic approach to identifying the social role of dance and to categorising the status of the numerous young dancers presented in Athenian iconography.



Figure 4.33 Attic red figure stemmed dish, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum B-177, Dish Painter, ca 470–460 BC. Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.



Figure 4.34 Attic red figure *phiale*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catharine Page Perkins Fund 97.371, Phiale Painter, ca 440–430 BC. Photo: © 2011, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In conclusion we may, however, assert with greater confidence that dance of one form or another would have been learned from a very young age by the majority of girls in Archaic and Classical Athens. How the girls acquired these skills is less certain. While formal training would have been provided to those who danced professionally, we do not know whether girls of citizen families received their dance tuition in anything other than the domestic context at the hands of their older female relatives. As with literacy, it is most likely that this was an aspect of female upbringing and socialisation that was variously achieved according to the circumstances and needs of the individual family.

4.5 Cult and ritual

We come now to a consideration of the iconographic evidence relating to the cultic and ritual life of the developing child.¹⁴⁷ While our [Chapter 3](#) discussion of cult and ritual in the infant life stage was largely limited by the available iconographic evidence to *kourotrophic* protection, celebration of the Choes, and infants as participants in family ritual, a richer, more varied and more prolific corpus of material evidence exists for the post-infant/prepubertal stage of childhood. While continuing to be depicted in the *kourotrophic*, *Choic* and familial ritual roles and contexts already established in infancy, these older children also appear as assistants in sacrificial and divinatory rituals, perform dances, participate in choruses, assume ritual agency as *pais amphithaleis* and *pais aph'hestias*, and join in rituals such as the *arkteia* that simultaneously mark their life-stage status and honour and propitiate the gods. This evidence, found in the form of votive relief stelai, freestanding terracotta and stone figures, and the images decorating Athenian painted pottery, pays witness to the developing social persona of the growing child and his/her increasing incorporation into Athenian society beyond the confines of the family home. It also illuminates the role of ritual as an important agent of socialisation in the lives of children, effected both via the act of ritual participation and the self-reflexive viewing of paradigmatic two- and three-dimensional images of children set up in the sanctuary context.¹⁴⁸ But while cult and ritual thus acted as a powerful force in the lives of children, shaping and guiding their lives and maturation, we must at the same time stress the value and agency of the child in the context of Greek religious and popular belief. As has already been discussed in [Chapter 2](#), children were perceived as wild, untamed beings: while, as a result, they were in many ways viewed as inferior to adults it was, nevertheless, their very marginality and 'otherness', combined with their purity in terms of their inexperience of and distance from the corruption of death, that fitted them for a role as an effective conduit between gods and man. The nexus that existed between children, cult, ritual and wider Athenian society was thus complex and symbiotic.

In the discussion of children in cult and ritual that follows, I treat only the period of life preceding puberty. A discussion of children and death ritual is, furthermore, left for the final section of this chapter.

Children as participants in family religious ritual

The role played by children as participants in family religious ritual is most vividly illustrated by the many figured stone votive reliefs that become so popular during the fourth century BC.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, C.L. Lawton has observed that in the comprehensive corpus of mostly Attic votive reliefs collated by M. Edelman, over 40% include child figures.¹⁵⁰ Most of these depict an adult couple, or couples, with their child, or children, approaching the deity to whom the relief was dedicated. Between one and four children may commonly be represented on a single relief panel. The most favoured divine recipient of reliefs that incorporate the figure of the child who has already grown beyond infancy but who has not yet reached puberty is Asklepieios, a *kourotrophic* and healing god who, as discussed in the previous chapter, we know had already assumed an important role in the child's earliest years of life (see Fig. 4.35).¹⁵¹ Many reliefs incorporating children as part of the dedicating group come also from the Pankrates sanctuary on the banks of the Ilissos, another cult again concerned with the child from infancy onwards.¹⁵² While some of these are offered simply to Pankrates, others are more specifically designated to honour Zeus Pankrates or Herakles Pankrates, and underscore the important role that both Zeus and Herakles played in the oversight of children and childhood.¹⁵³ Indeed, multiple cults of Zeus appear to have accorded a special place to children, not only that of Zeus Pankrates but also those of Zeus Philios and Zeus Meilichios, in whose honour were dedicated votive reliefs showing family groups with young children approaching the god.¹⁵⁴ From the ancient literary sources, too, we hear that at the Diaisia festival of Zeus Meilichios children were wont to receive gifts from their relatives.¹⁵⁵ Yet another pair of gods, namely Demeter and Persephone, can be added to this list of chthonic deities that concerned themselves with the well-being of families and their young offspring. Votive reliefs from Athens, Eleusis and the Peiraeus all represent children as integral members of family worshiping groups approaching the goddesses.¹⁵⁶ Particularly at Brauron Artemis, too, is the recipient of relief plaques depicting many-figured worshiper groups among whom numerous children, both male and female, are seen.¹⁵⁷ Less commonly children appear as members of the adorant throng on votive reliefs offered to Athena, Kephisos, Pan and the nymphs, Amphiaraos, and Apollo.¹⁵⁸

The children depicted on these many stone votive reliefs can be divided into a younger and an older group, both situated in the life stage sandwiched between the termination of infancy and the onset of puberty. Figures belonging to the younger group, who occupy what we might call the early childhood phase, are most easily recognisable, at least in the case of the male, by



Figure 4.35 Attic votive relief dedicated to Asklepieios at Loukou, Attica, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1402, ca 375–350 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

their nudity, diminutive stature and chubby-limbed physique with protruding belly. Those in the older childhood category, who appear on the reliefs in far greater numbers than the younger naked children, are somewhat taller figures and both boys and girls are modestly draped, with the hemlines of the girls' draperies reaching to the ground in contrast to the slightly shorter robes of the boys. In comparison to the often impetuous behaviour of the younger group of children on the reliefs who cannot stand still, or reach up towards the gods, many of the older group raise their right hand in a controlled gesture of reverence to the deity in imitation of the comportment of their adult companions.

Dedicated children

On most votive reliefs children are, as we have seen, depicted as integral members of the pious family group. On a small number of relief plaques, however, they take centre stage as the focus of the ritual dedication, and in a number of cases themselves provide the rationale for the offering now made to the god(s). Two such examples have already been discussed. A votive relief was dedicated by Xenokrateia to Kephissos and other deities for the education of her young son Xeniadēs who is depicted as a diminutive nude figure

(see Fig. 4.23), while on a plaque from the Athenian Akropolis a similarly small naked boy, accompanied by a bearded and clothed adult male, stands before Athena.¹⁵⁹ In addition to these, a third slab also presents a diminutive nude boy in early childhood as the focus of the dedicatory ritual: here the child is placed in the centre of the figured scene, midway between the bearded seated god who holds a cornucopia, perhaps Zeus Meilichios, and a group of approaching worshipers that includes two older clothed children.¹⁶⁰ A number of other reliefs offered to Herakles, Artemis and Apollo further show older clothed, but still prepubertal, boys and girls presented before the gods, and on one of these an accompanying inscription identifies the dedication as being made by the woman Lysistrate to Herakles ‘for her children’.¹⁶¹ The evidence both of such inscriptions and of the iconography itself thus reveals that child-focused *ex votos* could be offered by the mother or father, or both.¹⁶²

Serving a similar function to these child-centred votive reliefs, and surviving in greater numbers, are stone freestanding statues of children that first appear in Athenian sanctuaries during the fourth century BC (see Figs 2.4a, 2.6c, 2.7e and 3.16).¹⁶³ Like the votive reliefs that incorporate child figures, they are found in the sacred precincts of *kourotrophic* and healing gods, particularly those of Eileithyia, Artemis, Amphiaraos, Asklepieios and Demeter. Also like the votive reliefs, they depict children of both sexes at various stages of maturation. The youngest are crawling or seated infants, with the boys shown naked and the girls already modestly clothed. Older children stand quietly before the viewer.¹⁶⁴ Many of the youngsters clutch a bird, a ball or a hare, though whether we should regard these as childish playthings or offerings to the gods, or both, is not clear.

The motivation behind the dedication to the gods of child-focused votive reliefs or stone figures of children was clearly variable. In some cases, the child was committed to the care of a *kourotrophic* deity for the oversight of its health and well-being or, as in the case of the Xenokrateia relief, for its education. Other dedications were almost certainly made to thank and propitiate the gods for the child’s return to health after a period of illness. In other cases, the *ex votos* were offered by the child’s family in order to celebrate the prestigious role played by the child in the service of the divine: one such example is a votive relief offered to Apollo at the Pythion in Ikaria (see Fig. 4.36).¹⁶⁵ It shows four draped boys, accompanied by a bearded adult male, standing before Apollo, Artemis and Leto and, as the accompanying inscription informs us, was offered to commemorate the boys’ participation in a delegation of Athenians sent to Delphi. Performance of such a role by the boys would have brought great honour to their families, which are clearly named on the relief. At other times, child-figured votives were dedicated in order to mark not only children’s activities in the service of the gods but also simultaneously their participation in life-stage rituals, such as the *arkteia* in honour of Artemis at Brauron or the *arrephoria* in honour of Athena on the Akropolis, about which more will be said shortly.¹⁶⁶



Figure 4.36 Attic votive relief dedicated to Apollo in the Pythion at Ikaria, Rome, Museo Barraco 41, ca 370 bc. Line drawing: L.A. Beaumont.

In addition to the dedication of relatively costly child-figured stone votive reliefs and free-standing statues, we find large numbers of cheaper terra-cotta child figurines. Unlike the votive reliefs and stone statues, these are commonly found not only in sanctuaries but also in the mortuary context and clearly served a wider range of functions. While to date they have been woefully poorly published, it is nevertheless possible to observe that in the sanctuary context they are particularly common at cult sites of *kourotrophic* gods, such as Artemis and Demeter.¹⁶⁷

Children as assistants in sacrificial and divinatory rituals

Beginning in the late sixth century bc and continuing through the fifth and fourth, Athenian figured art regularly depicts prepubescent and pubescent boys as assistants in sacrificial and divinatory rituals.¹⁶⁸ These scenes appear first in vase painting and subsequently, with notable differences, images of boy assistants at sacrifice are found on stone votive relief plaques.

The painted images fall into two major subject types: those which show sacrificial activities unfolding at or beside an altar, and those which show *hieroskopia*, or extispicy, that is the examination of the animal's entrails for omens, taking place in a military context. In the latter case, the most common pictorial schema presents a naked boy holding a large liver which is being inspected by an armed warrior standing before him. This is a subject

favoured most by black figure painters at work in the last quarter of the sixth century BC, such as that illustrated in Fig. 4.37.¹⁶⁹ It is known only on three red figure vessels that date no later than the first quarter of the fifth century BC.¹⁷⁰

More commonly represented in red figure are scenes in which a boy or youth assists an adult bearded man at an altar. As on the example illustrated in Fig. 4.38, a bell *krater* painted circa 430 BC in the Manner of the Kleophon Painter, the boy may bring or tend the sacrificial animal alongside the altar.¹⁷¹ Alternatively, he may hold sacrificial equipment, such as the *kanoun* or basket, or the *chernips* or bowl in which the officiant cleanses his hands, or may pour a libation. Once the animal has been killed, the child may assist in its dismemberment, or may roast the *splanchna* or entrails over the altar fire on a long spit.¹⁷² The boy may be naked or may be draped from the waist down in a knee-length cloth. He usually wears a wreath on his head.

In these painted images the pictorial focus is thus placed on the sacrificial process and its enactment by the adult male officiant and his young assistant(s). By contrast, the iconography employed on votive relief plaques is concerned first and foremost with the visual expression of the relationship between the god and his/her worshippers, and consequently almost all available space is occupied by the representation of the god(s) approached by the worshipping group (see Fig. 4.39). The sacrificial process itself is synoptically referenced by the frequent inclusion of an altar and a sacrificial animal tended by a boy which together, both visually and conceptually, provide the



Figure 4.37 Attic black figure belly *amphora*, London, British Museum B171, last quarter of the sixth century BC. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.



Figure 4.38 Attic red figure bell *krater*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catharine Page Perkins Fund 95.25, Manner of the Kleophon Painter, ca 430 BC. Photo: © 2011, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

transition between the mortal and divine spheres. Sometimes the boy may also hold the *kanoun*, but only on very few occasions is he seen roasting the *splanchna*.¹⁷³ Just as in the painted images, the boy may be naked or partially draped: in some cases a knee-length cloth is wound about his waist and in other cases he wears an *exomis* or short tunic that, suspended from one shoulder, leaves the other shoulder bare. Notably this nudity or partial nudity clearly distinguishes this boy sacrificial assistant from the other children on the reliefs who, constituting part of the family worshiping group are, once past the early childhood stage, tightly and modestly fully wrapped from shoulder to ankle.

Determining the identity of the many young male assistants depicted in these Athenian sacrificial and divinatory ritual scenes is a complex issue.¹⁷⁴ Are we to understand them as servant or slave helpers, or as the sons of Athenian citizen families who bring honour to themselves and their *oikos* by performing in the service of the gods? That there was no conceptual impediment to an individual of servile status taking the role of ritual assistant may be demonstrated by reference to two black figure scenes in which a diminutive bearded male presents an animal liver to a warrior for inspection: while the facial hair indicates to the viewer that the figure is adult, his small size relative to the other figures in the scene marks his inferior social status.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, a fragmentary red figure bell *krater* by the Painter of London E494 depicts the sacrifice of Herakles to Chryse and identifies with an inscription one of the boy helpers spit-roasting *splanchna* as Lichas, who was the servant of Herakles.¹⁷⁶ That these servant helpers are shown naked would also seem to be significant. Earlier in this chapter I suggested



Figure 4.39 Attic votive relief from the Pankrates sanctuary on the Ilissos, Athens, Fethiye Camii P56B/ A7572, second quarter of the fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

that, with the exception of males in the infant and early childhood stages of life and also of older boy athletes, nude lads who attend adults in Athenian vase painting and funerary sculpture should be identified as possessing servile status. If we extend this criterion to the interpretation of sacrificial and divinatory scenes, what then of the young helpers dressed in *exomis* and loincloth? While these are the forms of dress clearly associated in the Athenian iconographical corpus with banausic activities, the loincloth at least does not seem to have been restricted only to individuals of servile status.¹⁷⁷ In this context J. Gebauer has pointed to a red figure image by Hermonax that depicts the youthful Achilles at sacrifice, dressed in a loincloth and carrying *splanchna* on a spit.¹⁷⁸ We may also refer to the sacrificial scene on a red figure bell *krater* decorated in the Manner of the Kleophon Painter, on which the *himation*-clad bearded male officiant is assisted by a similarly draped youth holding *chernips* and tray and by a boy with loincloth who holds the sacrificial beast.¹⁷⁹ The scene is flanked by another youth playing the *aulos* and a bearded man with staff, both dressed in *himation*. All five figures in the scene, including the boy with loincloth, are individually identified by the addition of their names, suggesting that none of them are to be understood as slaves (see Fig. 4.38).

The iconographic evidence thus suggests that the boy helpers in sacrificial and divinatory rituals might variously be slaves or the sons of citizen families. A passage from Isaios would appear to support this conclusion. In *On the Estate of Kiron* (8.16), the speaker notes that since his grandfather Kiron attached special importance to the festival of Zeus Ktesios, he barred slaves and non-family members from joining in the celebrations: as a result Kiron and his relatives themselves performed all the necessary sacrificial rites, the implication being that on other occasions at least some of these roles would have been filled by slaves.

Without being too prescriptive or rigid in interpretation of the iconographic evidence, I would like to suggest that the completely naked state of a boy sacrificial assistant may usually be understood as indicative of his servile identity, while those who wear a loincloth as a more modest form of dress appropriate to an active role possess the status of a citizen family's son.¹⁸⁰ But servile or free, one claim may be made without hesitation: when assistance was required in the context of sacrifice, the help of a male child was desired above all other. For his gender, his youth, and his physical and conceptual distance from all forms of corruption that attached to the adult state rendered him the most appropriate facilitator in the liminal space 'twixt man and god.

Children and ritual agency

In certain contexts the child as ritual facilitator assumed particular potent agency, functioning variously as a conduit for the transmission of the blessings of fruitfulness and good fortune or as a suppliant mediating with the gods on behalf of the wider community. These powerful roles were undertaken by the child in his/her capacity as *pais amphithaleis* or as *pais aph'hestias*. The *pais amphithaleis*, literally the child 'blooming on both sides', was regarded as an auspicious individual since his/her parents were both alive: the child therefore symbolised good fortune and embodied the fruitfulness of his/her parents' union, blessings much sought after at both individual and communal level.¹⁸¹ The *pais amphithaleis* therefore appears in panhellenic cult as well as in Athenian civic religion, and also in the domestic ritual context.

The *pais aph'hestias*, literally 'the child from the hearth', by contrast filled a more closely defined, but equally significant, role that cast the child as state-appointed intermediary with the Eleusinian gods on behalf of the annual community of cult initiates.¹⁸² While most of the ancient literary, documentary and iconographical evidence for the *pais aph'hestias* dates to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, a more limited body of earlier evidence serves to confirm the existence of the *pais aph'hestias* from at least the first half of the fifth century BC, and probably earlier. The *pais* is mentioned in an inscription set up in the City Eleusinion circa 460 BC, and about a hundred years later a second inscription informs us that the *pais* was chosen by lot by the *archon basileios* from a group of children nominated by their families.¹⁸³ By the

Hellenistic and Roman periods inscribed statues of *paides aph'hestias*, both boys and girls, were being erected in the City Eleusinion and the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis.¹⁸⁴ That this commemorative practice can probably be traced back to the Late Classical period seems to be suggested by two statues from Eleusis dating to the second half of the fourth century BC, which depict a young *himation*-clad boy with bare chest holding the initiate's attribute of the *bacchos*, or tightly bound bundle of myrtle branches, and also originally a piglet (see Fig. 4.40).¹⁸⁵ A clearly indicated tuft of hair above the forehead constitutes a form of ritual coiffure that identifies the wearer as possessed of a special status. Long pre-dating the fourth century, a fragmentary black figure *loutrophoros* of circa 520 BC from Eleusis further depicts a small boy walking in a procession of *bacchoi*-carrying initiates.¹⁸⁶ However, whether this child should also be identified as a *pais amphithaleis* is far more speculative: alternatively it is possible that he is simply a child initiate of the Mysteries, although the issue of whether children other than the *pais aph'hestias* were eligible for initiation is a matter on which no scholarly agreement exists.¹⁸⁷

Reference has earlier been made to the *pais amphithaleis* in domestic rituals associated with the Athenian wedding. In this context the role of



Figure 4.40 Attic marble statue of a boy with *bacchos* from the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, Eleusis Archaeological Museum 5162, third quarter of the fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

the auspicious child, whose presence betokened the blessings of good fortune and fertility in the future life of the marrying couple, is noted in the ancient literary sources. We learn that on the night preceding the marriage the groom slept in the house of his future father-in-law accompanied by a girl *amphithaleis*. Subsequently, a male *pais amphithaleis* slept with the bride following her transferral to the house of her new husband.¹⁸⁸ As part of the wedding ritual, furthermore, it was the task of a boy *amphithaleis* to distribute bread to the assembled company.¹⁸⁹ The *amphithaleis* also accompanied the procession of bride and groom to the house of the groom, and the following day repeated the same journey to deliver the wedding gifts to the new couple.¹⁹⁰ Some of these roles fulfilled by the *pais* are also evidenced by the ancient pictorial sources where, additionally, the presence of children in scenes relating to preparations for the nuptial bath and the unveiling of the bride suggest further duties performed by the *pais amphithaleis* which do not receive mention in the ancient literary sources.

In several scenes depicting preparations for the nuptial bath, identifiable by the presence of a *loutrophoros*, or ritual water container, carried in a torch-lit night-time procession of women and adolescent maidens, a modestly draped smaller boy plays the *aulos*.¹⁹¹ While he may simply be present to provide musical accompaniment, his tender years prompt us to consider his potential identity as a *pais amphithaleis*. Similarly, the presence of a small girl among older *parthenoi* and women making preparations for the bath on a red figure *loutrophoros* in Karlsruhe may perhaps suggest her interpretation as a *pais amphithaleis*.¹⁹²

A male child accompanies the bride and groom in a number of black and red figure scenes depicting the bride's journey of transferral from her paternal home to that of her husband.¹⁹³ Most well-known among such vases is the Amasis Painter's black figure *lekythos* depicting the night-time procession of the bridal cart on which the *pais amphithaleis* perches behind the newly-weds (see Fig. 4.41). A male *pais amphithaleis* may perhaps also be identified on a red figure *loutrophoros* fragment by the Phiale Painter which depicts a wreathed boy standing between the seated groom and the bride whose veil is being adjusted by a female attendant (see Fig. 4.42).¹⁹⁴ Scholars who have discussed this vase debate whether we see here the *anakalypteria*, or unveiling ceremony of the bride or, because of the presence in the scene of a basket of fruit about to be showered on the couple, the *katachysmata* or welcoming ritual enacted when the bride entered her new home.¹⁹⁵ In this context it is worth remembering that Athenian vase painters, unlike modern photographers, were not restricted to showing only a single moment in time but rather could incorporate in the same scene a number of thematically interrelated, but temporally disparate, elements. It is, then, here quite possible that both *anakalypteria* and *katachysmata* are simultaneously referenced.¹⁹⁶ Should this be the case, it would serve only to emphasise the significance of the young *pais* positioned at the centre of both these rituals.



Figure 4.41 Attic black figure *lekythos*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.1, Amasis Painter, ca 550–540 bc. Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 4.42 Fragmentary Attic red figure *loutrophoros*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund and museum purchase with funds donated by contribution 10.223, Phiale Painter, ca 430 bc. Photo: © 2011, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

A similar conflation of temporally distinct occurrences provides the best explanation of a red figure mythological scene of circa 475 BC in which we again find the *pais amphithaleis* (see Fig. 4.43). The image in question depicts Athena awakening Theseus who lies beside the sleeping Ariadne. At their feet lies a small boy.¹⁹⁷ While this arrangement accords in a literal sense with neither of the documented Greek customs we have already noted, namely that of a young girl sleeping with the prospective husband or of a young boy sleeping with the bride, the pot painter nevertheless via his combination of *pais amphithaleis*, groom and bride in a single scene successfully conveys to the viewer the newly-wed status of the young couple. Furthermore, as already discussed in the earlier part of this chapter, the use of the figure of the *pais* to pictorially signify the consummation of marriage may also be suggested in the case of an image by the Eucharides Painter of a young boy assisting a woman with the girdle of her dress as she stands before a man (see Fig. 4.6).¹⁹⁸



Figure 4.43 Attic red figure *lekythos*, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4545, Manner of the Pan Painter, ca 475 BC. By kind permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Puglia – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia.

In addition to the important role played by the *pais amphithaleis* in wedding ritual, the *pais* also acted as the bringer of fruitfulness and good fortune in Athenian civic religion and, furthermore, fulfilled particular functions in panhellenic cult. It was, for example, a *pais amphithaleis* who at Olympia cut branches for the victory crowns from a sacred olive tree in the sanctuary of Zeus. At Delphi a *pais* also enacted a similar task.¹⁹⁹ In the context of Athenian civic religion, the *pais amphithaleis* occupied an important place in Apolline cult. From the ancient literary sources we learn that at the autumn festival of the Pynaopsia the ceremonial procession to the sanctuary of Apollo was accompanied by a male *pais* carrying the *eiresione*, a branch of laurel wound round with wool and probably also fruits, and symbolising fruitfulness and the protection of the god.²⁰⁰ While I am aware of no images that depict a boy carrying the *eiresione*, it is nevertheless interesting to note that in many of the earlier-discussed painted scenes that show boys assisting in sacrificial ritual the recipient cult may be identified as that of Apollo, thanks to the presence either of the god himself or his cult statue, or of a laurel tree, or of laurel branches held by the boys.²⁰¹ This, combined with what we shall go on to discuss in the next section of this chapter about the participation of boys in choral competition at the Apolline festival of the Thargelia, suggests a special relationship between boys and Apollo, a connection that by contrast is not apparent from the evidence of votive relief sculpture.²⁰²

The cult of Apollo also allocated a special role to girls, endowing them with ritual agency as suppliants to the god on behalf of the community. On the sixth day of the month Mounychion, Athenian girls made their way to the Delphinion carrying the *hiketeria*, or suppliant's branch, which, as an olive twig bound with white wool, possessed a form similar to that of the *eiresione*.²⁰³ An image on a red figure column *krater* decorated by the Orchard Painter furthermore suggests that girls and women also acted as suppliants in other cults (see Fig. 4.44).²⁰⁴ Here we see an all-female group approaching a *herm* complete with *kerykeion* set up in a sanctuary beside an altar, above which hangs a votive relief plaque. The procession is headed by a *parthenos kanephoros*, so identified by her long hair and the ritual basket she carries on her head, and in her wake walk two women and a small girl. All four carry the suppliant's branch.

Children as ritual performers in chorus and dance

Singing and dancing were activities integral to many Athenian secular and religious rituals, and in this context children fulfilled important roles as ritual performers. For boys, choral participation was closely defined and formally organised. For girls, ritual dancing and singing took on particular significance in the life of the adolescent *parthenos* and, while her performance accompanied the celebration of many ritual occasions, female choral



Figure 4.44 Attic red figure column *krater*, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81295, Orchard Painter, ca 475–450 BC.

participation at Athens was noticeably less institutionalised in contrast both with that of Athenian males and with that of girls elsewhere in the ancient Greek world.²⁰⁵

Numerous Athenian festivals incorporated competitive choral contests for boy *paides* who sang and danced complex, choreographed *dithyrambic* compositions.²⁰⁶ The largest such event took place in the context of the Great or City Dionysia in early spring, and involved ten choruses of fifty boys each. In late spring, another five choruses of fifty boys apiece also performed in the Apolline Thargelia festival,²⁰⁷ and it is also possible that boys competed in *dithyrambic* contests at the Panathenaia, Hephaisteia, Prometheia and Anthesteria. While the ancient literary sources are silent concerning the age of the boys who participated in the choruses, it seems reasonable to assume that puberty had not yet caused the voice to break, particularly in view of Aristotle's comment that those involved in choral activity tried to delay the day when their voice would change.²⁰⁸ Given that the choruses were tribally organised, it is important to recognise the significant role that they played in the socialisation of Athens' future citizens. As a result of Kleisthenes' democratic reforms enacted at the end of the sixth century BC, and particularly of his division of the Athenian citizen population into ten tribes, each of which was composed of individuals drawn from across the entire Attic landscape,

tribal activities brought into contact many Athenians who would otherwise have led geographically and socially discrete existences. The boys selected to undergo choral training and to represent their tribe in the *dithyrambic* contests would, therefore, be introduced to a much wider grouping of their peers than those they would meet in the usual day-to-day course of their lives, and would gain a taste of the broader community in which they would in future operate in the political, military and social citizen community of the Athenian state.²⁰⁹

Pictorial reference to the boys' *dithyrambic* choral performance and contests is to be found in Athenian red figure vase painting.²¹⁰ These scenes may be divided into three types: dancing to musical accompaniment, celebration of victory, and sacrifice in a sanctuary setting in thanksgiving for victory secured. Common to all three scene types, which occur most frequently on *choes* and *kraters*, is the presence of a victory tripod, and on several vases the boys wear ornate patterned performance robes. While vases depicting boys in the act of dancing are rare, several pots depict boys approaching victory tripods.²¹¹ While the *chous* images almost certainly refer to Dionysiac choral *dithyramb*, the representations on a number of *kraters* of ritual thanksgiving sacrifice place the scene in an Apolline context and thereby reference the *dithyrambic* contests of the Thargelia festival and its celebration in the Pythion sanctuary of Apollo beyond the walls of Athens on its south-east side. The clearest example of such a scene is found on a red figure bell *krater*



Figure 4.45 Attic red figure bell *krater*, Copenhagen, National Museum, Dept. of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities CHR.VIII939, ca 430 BC.

now in Copenhagen, dating to the third quarter of the fifth century BC (see Fig. 4.45).²¹² Here the Apolline sanctuary setting is indicated by the presence of what appears to be a bay laurel tree adjacent to an altar, beside which a column is about to be crowned with a tripod by a flying Nike. To left of the altar a bearded draped man prepares to officiate at the sacrificial ceremony, assisted by a naked servant boy holding a tray. To the right of the altar are two boys, one kneeling and one standing. They both wear the finely patterned robes and ornate headdresses that were presumably the common garb of young Athenian choristers.

Further to the major choral competitions held for male *paides* at the Thargelia and Great Dionysia, boys also participated in pyrrhic choruses at the Panathenaia.²¹³ These pyrrhic choruses enacted nude weapon dances to the accompaniment of rhythmic music. They were performed in honour of warlike Athena by three age groups – *paides* or boys, *ageneoi* or unbearded youths, and *andres* or men – and their function and significance were clearly related to military training and the construction and reinforcement of male group identity. However, although there survive numerous examples of the depiction of male pyrrhic dance in both black and red figure vase painting and also in fourth-century relief sculpture, these seem exclusively to depict the performance of the *andres* and *ageneoi* rather than the *paides*.²¹⁴

In addition to the participation of male *paides* in chorus and dance, we must also recall other aspects of ritual performance already discussed in our consideration of education earlier in this chapter: namely the agonistic involvement of boys in contests of recitation, singing, and lyre and flute playing. As previously noted, scenes of boys' musical performance and victory are frequently represented in the surviving corpus of Attic black and red figure pottery.

When we turn to a consideration of the iconographic evidence for Athenian females engaged in ritual chorus and dance, it at once becomes clear that emphasis is placed on the performance of women and of *parthenoi*, or pubescent girls of marriageable age. They appear in groups, are dressed in fine and modest apparel, and are linked one to another by joined hands as they move in unison.²¹⁵ However, with the exception of the young figures depicted on black figure *krateriskoi* found in several Attic Artemis sanctuaries and discussed in the context of the Arkteia later in this chapter, younger prepubertal girls are not to my knowledge depicted in the act of performing such synchronous dances in the company of their peers, though they do appear singly or in pairs often dancing to the accompaniment of an *aulist* or practising their steps before a dancing teacher.²¹⁶ Perhaps, then, it is reasonable to suggest that although girls would have learned to dance well before they reached puberty, it was only once they attained *parthenos* status that their group dances took on particular significance in the communal ritual context, whether secular and enacted on such occasions as the wedding, or religious and performed in sacred space in honour of the gods.

Like Athenian males, at least some Athenian females also performed armed, or pyrrhic, dance and this is a subject that enjoyed some popularity in Athenian black and red figure vase painting.²¹⁷ In large part the performers, to judge by their physical stature and possession of breasts, are pubertal maidens or women rather than younger girls, and perform their armed dances in a variety of secular and sacred contexts. As C. Bron makes clear, a number of different armed dances were performed by females:²¹⁸ some were enacted in the course of celebrating rituals while others were performed as entertainment and thus, as with all dance, the function of the female pyrrhic and the identity and social status of the dancers varied according to context. In the arena of ritual performance, the iconographic evidence indicates a close association of female armed dance with the cult of Artemis.²¹⁹ It has therefore been suggested that while pyrrhic dance performed in honour of Athena emphasised warlike ideals and training for males, pyrrhic dance performed in honour of Artemis witnessed ritual gender inversion for *parthenoi*, who occupied a liminal social space between childhood and adulthood.²²⁰

Ritual as marker of childhood life stage

As we have already seen, the ritual roles fulfilled by children changed according to the child's age and life stage, often along gender-specific lines. Functioning as a major agent in the process of socialisation, ritual furthermore defined and marked particular significant phases and stages in the continuum of childhood maturation. Some of these markers have already been discussed: for example, first celebration of the Choes in the child's third year and, for male *paides*, participation in choral performance. In the years preceding puberty, the period of life with which this book is concerned, religious rituals played a particularly important role in the lives of young girls from well-to-do Athenian citizen families. The underlying reason for this would seem to be that while the socialisation and maturation of Athenian boys took place over an extended period of time that stretched from early childhood to their twenties and was effected along multiple trajectories that included educational, social, civic and military processes, preparation and acculturation of young girls to womanhood was by contrast conducted over a shorter, more intense period that commenced in early childhood and culminated in puberty, quickly followed by teenage marriage and childbirth (see [Chapter 2.1](#)). Since formal educational, civic and military factors had little or nothing to do with female socialisation at Athens, the acculturation of girls therefore remained in secular terms a private affair. Only the ritual sphere provided an important communal, public forum in which proper female maturation was recognised, marked and celebrated. These rituals either, as in the case of the *Arkteia*, prepared girls for the major life change that would come with the onset of puberty or, as M. Golden has noted, looked forward to and highlighted the ideals, expected characteristics and occupations of

womanhood: for example, weaving in the case of the girls who served as *ergastinai* and *arrephoroi*, food preparation on the part of the *aletrides*, and washing duties performed by the *loutrides* or *plyntrides*.²²¹ Athena and Artemis who, more than any other of the goddesses, received the service of those occupying these roles were, significantly, virgins like the girls themselves. The ages of girlhood associated with some of these ritual roles are mentioned in a well-known passage of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 641–5:

As soon as I was seven I was an *arrephoros*. Then at ten I was an *aletris* for the foundress, and shedding my saffron robe I was an *arktos* (bear) at the Brauronia.²²²

In iconographic terms, the best-represented ritual would seem to be the *ark-teia*, thanks to the figured decoration and dedication of miniature votive *krateriskoi* at sanctuaries of Artemis where the ritual was celebrated. Otherwise, only the *arrephoroi* make an appearance in the iconographic record and it is, therefore, on the *arktoi* and *arrephoroi* that the following discussion centres.

Arrephoria

The ancient literary sources provide us with tantalising, but inevitably incomplete, information about the *arrephoroi*.²²³ Two, or perhaps four, well-born girls, aged between seven and eleven years, were chosen by the Archon Basileios to live for a time on the Athenian Akropolis near the Temple of Athena Polias and, in their role as *arrephoroi*, to serve the goddess Athena. They participated in two of the goddess's festivals, the Chalkeia and the Arrephoria, the first held in autumn in the month of Pyanopsion and the second celebrated in midsummer eight months later in the month of Skiraphorion. At the Chalkeia festival it was the honoured duty of two *arrephoroi* to begin weaving the *peplos* that would be placed on the cult statue of Athena Polias nine months later in the culminating event of the Greater Panathenaia celebrations. Given that the Greater Panathenaia took place only once every four years, while the Arrephoria seem to have been held annually, the sacred weaving duties of the *arrephoroi* constituted a special quadrennial honour accorded the girls in addition to their primary annual role as the bearers of secret objects in the ritual that lay at the heart of the Arrephoria festival. The four-year cycle of activities is notable for its concurrence with the four-year age range of the *arrephoroi*, as asserted by the ancient literary sources. This has led G. Donnay, perhaps implausibly, to suggest that the girls were appointed as *arrephoroi* for an extended period of four years between the ages of seven and eleven and has, furthermore, prompted A. Brelich, also implausibly, to contend that serving as an *arrephoros* represented one grade in a popular female initiation cycle linked to the Greater Panathenaia.²²⁴

Perhaps, more simply, we might propose that the four-yearly involvement of the *arrephoroi* in the Greater Panathenaia was determined by the identity of the *arrephoroi* as well-born girls of prepubertal status who thus, as advocated by E. Simon, functioned as ideal *paides amphithaleis* at the Chalkeia festival, where they lent their auspicious presence to the commencement of the *peplos* weaving.²²⁵ The four-year age range would, therefore, have meant that all well-born girls potentially had the opportunity to serve Athena as *arrephoros* in a year when the Greater Panathenaia was celebrated and thus to have had a hand in the creation of the sacred robe.

The core ritual of the midsummer Arrephoria festival is a mysterious one. As Pausanias (1.27.3) describes, the ritual was enacted at night and involved the young *arrephoroi* carrying objects on their heads, the identity of which was unknown to them; these they took from the Akropolis, probably via the ancient Mycenaean stairway cut within the rock of the north slopes and, depositing them below, returned to the Akropolis carrying a wrapped bundle. While we can only guess at what it was that on both descent and ascent they carried, the mythological aetiology of the ritual would seem to be clear enough and to reference the daughters of King Kekrops whom Athena entrusted with a closed casket secretly containing the infant Erichthonios, issuing them with a dire warning that they were not to open the container. While Pandrosos obeyed Athena's directive, curiosity got the better of Herse and Aglauros who, as a result of opening the casket, ultimately lost their lives. Much academic debate about the ritual enacted by the *arrephoroi* has focused on the issue of whether we can identify this as a female initiation rite.²²⁶ While activities that took place under the cover of darkness were often associated with the transition from one state of being to another, thus for example the transfer of the bride to the house of her groom, and while the removal of the *arrephoroi* from the normal routines of life as a result of being lodged on the Akropolis corresponds with aspects of separation and isolation inherent in many initiation rituals, we face a number of difficulties in viewing the Arrephoria in an initiatory context. First of all, we simply do not know what it was that the girls carried down and back up the slopes of the Akropolis, and the scholarly assertion that these objects consisted of model phalloi, snakes and a baby is conjecture born out of a desire to imbue such objects with the agency to effect the prepubertal *arrephoros*'s introduction to her future sexual identity. Second, since it seems that only selected well-born girls became *arrephoroi*, it is difficult to consider the Arrephoria as a real initiatory experience open to the wider female population. Perhaps, then, it is better to regard the Arrephoria as a ritual that addressed, on one hand, the didactic education and safe maturation of young Athenian girls and, on the other, the well-being of the wider Athenian community. Herse and Aglauros disobeyed Athena and paid the ultimate price. The two mortal *arrephoroi* perhaps then served to placate the goddess as obedient substitutes for the deviant mythological princesses, thus highlighting for all their

mortal peers the importance of appropriate behaviour. For it was only via the adoption of such behaviours that the survival and maturation of young girls, and the consequent continuation and well-being of their community, could be assured. This, as the girls approached the dangerous age of puberty, was surely a timely lesson that they should learn.

Being chosen as an *arrephoros* represented a high honour that reflected well not only on the girl but also on her family. By the third century BC, and probably earlier, the girl's tenure of this important role came to be commemorated by the erection on the Akropolis, usually by her family, of a votive statuary depiction of the *arrephoros*. While, sadly, the images themselves have not survived, their existence is nevertheless clearly attested by the survival of the inscribed bases on which the statues of the girls once stood.²²⁷ A number of extant images, both painted and sculpted, have also been suggested by scholars to depict the *arrephoroi*. These include a number of Archaic *korai* figures dedicated on the Akropolis, the *karyatids* of the Erechtheion south porch, and the female *diphrophoroi*, or stool carriers, positioned at the centre of the Parthenon east frieze.²²⁸ In all three cases, however, it is unlikely that these figures represent the *arrephoroi*. As we have already seen, the ancient literary sources define the *arrephoroi* as prepubertal girls aged between seven and eleven: the *korai* and *karyatids*, by contrast, are depicted as pubertal *parthenoi* who possess breasts and sport the characteristic long hair of pubertal maidenhood. While the iconography of the *diphrophoroi* on the Parthenon east frieze is harder to understand as a result of the poorly preserved state of the two figures, no scholar has to date been able to satisfactorily explain why, and to what end, *arrephoroi* should be depicted as stool carriers at the Greater Panathenaia.²²⁹ Most recently, O. Palagia has more credibly proposed that a fourth-century votive relief and a statue base, both from the Athenian Akropolis and both fragmentary, may depict the *arrephoroi*.²³⁰ Here young female figures are shown setting up a loom, which Palagia suggests we might identify as that used for the weaving of the peplos of Athena Polias.

As in sculpture, tentative identifications of the *arrephoroi* in vase painting have little sound basis. Fragments from a red figure *hydria* decorated by the Kleophon Painter circa 430 BC show girls playing ball in the company of Aphrodite.²³¹ Since the ancient literary sources make reference to the provision of a playground on the Akropolis where the *arrephoroi* played ball, scholars have been eager to connect this image with their activities.²³² However, as discussed earlier in in [section 4.3](#) of this chapter, balls in Athenian art are not infrequently depicted in the hands of girls, while moreover the presence of Aphrodite in the Kleophon Painter's picture suggests a symbolic, and perhaps erotic, aspect to their play. M. Miller also draws our attention to the image on a red figure *lekkythos* decorated circa 480 BC by the Brygos Painter (see [Fig. 4.46](#)).²³³ Here a finely dressed young girl, bedecked with earrings, walks ahead of a much taller female figure who shades her with a parasol. While Miller points to the girl's diminutive stature as an indicator of her tender years and therefore

her potential identity as an *arrephoros* taking part in the Panathenaic procession, the particular form of her long mantle draped over her shoulders and arms and falling behind almost to the ground more likely distinguishes her as a *kanephoros*, whom we know from the ancient literary sources to have been accompanied and shaded in the Panathenaic procession by the daughters of metics carrying parasols.²³⁴ Possibly more convincingly, a well-known black figure *lekythos* decorated by the Amasis Painter with scenes of wool-working may show at the loom the two *arrephoroi* who played an important role at the Chalkeia festival in the commencement of the weaving of the *peplos* subsequently dedicated to Athena Polias at the Greater Panathenaia (see Fig. 4.47).²³⁵ In comparison to the other female wool workers in the scene, the two figures who busy themselves at the loom are smaller and, if we can claim a connection between this scene on the body of the vessel and that on its shoulder where a dance is performed before a seated female clutching a wreath, we may be justified in interpreting the weaving scene as taking place in a ritual setting. By the same token, however, we might equally understand the two scenes in the context of a wedding celebration and the subsequent appropriate conduct of married domestic life: certainly the Amasis Painter was no stranger to the depiction of wedding imagery, decorating another *lekythos* with a scene of the transfer of the bride to the house of her groom (see Fig. 4.41).



Figure 4.46 Attic red figure *lekythos*, Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale XXXXO.4113, Brygos Painter, ca 480 BC. Line drawing reproduced by permission of Zadia Green.



Figure 4.47 Attic black figure *lekythos*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.10, Amasis Painter, ca 560 BC. Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Thus, as can be seen, the iconography of the *arrephoroi* is tantalisingly fugitive and though by the Early Hellenistic period at the latest images of the young *arrephoroi* were certainly in production, all earlier proposed representations remain open for alternative interpretation.

Arkteia

The Arkteia, as a ritual honouring Artemis that focused on young females, is a subject that has spawned copious scholarship in recent years.²³⁶ The ancient literary sources define participation in the ritual as being specific to a particular period in a girl's life: several sources agree that the Arkteia was to be celebrated before marriage and that the girl's tenth year was of particular significance, though the ritual might be undertaken by girls as young as five.²³⁷ This five-year age range for participation in the ritual has been linked by a number of scholars to the apparent penteteric occurrence

of a state-sponsored Artemis Brauronia festival, on which occasion a public procession made its way from the Athenian Akropolis to Brauron in the Attic countryside.²³⁸ Given, however, that the Arkteia is elsewhere noted in the ancient literary sources as a *mysterion*, or restricted, female-only celebration, we face difficulties in reconciling the Arkteia and Brauronia as one and the same festival, unless a specific period of time was set aside during the Brauronia celebrations when the Brauron sanctuary could be entered only by those girls celebrating the Arkteia and chaperoned perhaps by their adult female companions.²³⁹ Scant additional evidence is to be found in the ancient written sources as to what the Arkteia ritual involved: we learn only that the girls wore and shed a *krokotos*, or saffron-coloured robe.²⁴⁰

Given this tantalising but sparse information about the Arkteia provided by the ancient authors, scholars fell eagerly upon the iconographical evidence produced by J. Papadimitriou's 1948–63 excavations in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.²⁴¹ Of especial interest were the images decorating a particular class of hastily manufactured and decorated ceramic vessels that were named *krateriskoi* by L. Kahil, the scholar charged with their publication.²⁴² As the name suggests, these pots take the form of a miniature *krater*, distinguished by a high pedestal foot and double handles. Decorated in the black figure style, some of these vessels are simply ornamented with horizontal or wavy black lines while others bear figured representations. Their discovery, however, was not limited to Brauron, with *krateriskos* finds being documented also at the Peiraeus sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia, the Halai Araphenides sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolis not far from Brauron, and the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule at Melite.²⁴³ That these, then, were vessels closely associated with the worship of Artemis is beyond doubt. *Krateriskoi* have also been found on the Athenian Akropolis where they were most likely offered in the *temenos* of Artemis Brauronia, in the Agora, and in the cave of Pan at Eleusis.²⁴⁴ A number of the vessels bear traces of burning inside the bowl, suggesting that they had been used as *thymiateria*, or incense burners. While the *krateriskoi* from Eleusis carry only linear decoration, the other sites also produced many figure-decorated examples depicting draped or, more infrequently naked, girls who run, dance or process in the vicinity of a burning altar and/or a palm tree: some of the girls carry lighted torches or wreaths. Since the publication of these vessels, almost all scholars writing on the subject of the Arkteia have assumed that the rituals of the Arkteia are visually manifested on the *krateriskoi*.²⁴⁵ Spurred on by a need to fill in the gaps left by the ancient literary sources, they rarely pause to examine whether it is indeed valid to equate the meagre evidence of the ancient authors concerning the Arkteia with the pictorial images of young girls that we find on the pots. However, a more rigorous way of approaching these different categories of primary literary and archaeological material is to first evaluate the iconographical evidence on its own terms, independent of the literary sources, before attempting to consider the two together. This, then, is what I now propose to do.

Earlier in this chapter, when discussing the depiction of females engaged in ritual chorus and dance, I established that on Attic figured vessels other than the *krateriskoi* emphasis is placed on the performance of women and *parthenoi*, or pubertal maidens of marriageable age. It is, therefore, of particular significance that on the *kateriskoi* we witness not only *parthenoi* who dance or process in the ritual context, but also younger, apparently prepubertal, girls who are usually depicted with short hair and a short *chiton* (see Fig. 2.4b).²⁴⁶ Although the quality of the *krateriskos* representations is admittedly generally poor and age signs are not always easily distinguishable, a number of girls may be identified as *parthenoi* by their possession of the long flowing hair characteristic of the *parthenos* life stage.²⁴⁷ It is of particular note that in the *krateriskos* images from Brauron the naked girls who dance or run are usually identifiable as *parthenoi* by their long hair (see Fig. 4.48), while a *krateriskos* from Mounichia presents us with two nude females who possess breasts and long hair secured on the back of the head in a bun (see Fig. 4.49): these, then, are figures whose anatomy and coiffure both agree in defining them as females who have already outgrown childhood proper.²⁴⁸ There is, furthermore, on the vessels from Mounichia another correlation visible between the possession of long hair and a long *chiton*.²⁴⁹ In one case, a figure with flowing hair and long *chiton* also wears a mantle draped over her shoulders in such a manner that it recalls the shoulder mantle commonly worn on other contemporary figure-painted vessels by *kanephoroi*, the pubertal maidens chosen to serve



Figure 4.48 Attic black figure *krateriskos* from Brauron, Brauron Archaeological Museum A25/MB548. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 4.49 Attic black figure *krateriskos* fragment from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum MI15431. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

the gods as basket bearers in ritual processions and ceremonies.²⁵⁰ C. Sourvinou-Inwood in her *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Iconography*, published in 1988, suggested that the most important age signs employed in the *krateriskos* images were: (i) physical stature relative to other figures; (ii) size of head in proportion to the rest of the body; and (iii) the possession of a flat chest, 'budding breasts' or full breasts as an indicator, respectively, of the prepubertal, pubertal or fully mature female state. While I concur with her that relative stature may generally be employed as an indicator of relative age, the attempt to evaluate head size or breast size as a reliable criterion by which to establish life stage seems to me to be misguided in the case of the black figure *krateriskoi* where the poor and hasty quality of the painted iconography makes the intentional and successful execution of such detail unlikely and inconsistent. Rather, I would like to propose that alternative and more reliable age signs observable on the *krateriskoi* are, in addition to relative stature: (i) hair length; (ii) possession or absence of breasts; and (iii) garment type, if worn.

In addition to the numerous black figure *krateriskoi* and *krateriskos* fragments from Brauron, Mounichia, Halai Araphenides, the Athenian Akropolis, Melite and the Agora, decorated with images of the clothed or naked girls who run, dance or process, there also survive fragments of two larger and more finely decorated red figure *kraters* which, though sadly

unprovenanced, seem to relate closely in their pictorial subject matter to the smaller and coarser black figure *krateriskoi* with known provenances (see Figs 4.50 and 51).²⁵¹ On both vessels, the Artemisian context is established by the presence of palm trees, and on one of the *kraters* a subsidiary animal frieze of deer pursued by hunting dogs underscores the nature of the divine huntress. On one vessel running girls are all clothed in short, ungirdled, sleeveless *chitons* and possess mid-length hair. On one side of the *krater* they are attended by adult women dressed in contrasting and more modest fashion in long *chiton* and *himation*, who wear their hair bound on the back of their head in a bun. The height differential between the taller women and the shorter tunic-clad girls marks their contrast in age: that the girls, furthermore, range in height among themselves suggests that the viewer is to understand the group as composed of prepubertal figures of varying ages. On the second *krater*, older naked girls are shown running with wreaths in their hands. Of the six adequately preserved figures, four are unmistakably pubertal *parthenoi* with breasts and long flowing hair reaching to the middle of their backs. A fifth figure, while still apparently in possession of breasts, has short hair, while the sixth figure contrasts markedly with the others not only because of her short hair but also because she is much shorter and flat-chested and,



Figure 4.50 Attic red figure *krater* fragments, Basle, Cahn Collection inv. No. HC501, ca 430–420 BC, reproduced here by kind permission of J.-D. Cahn. Photo: A.F. Voegelin, courtesy of the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Line drawing L.A. Beaumont.

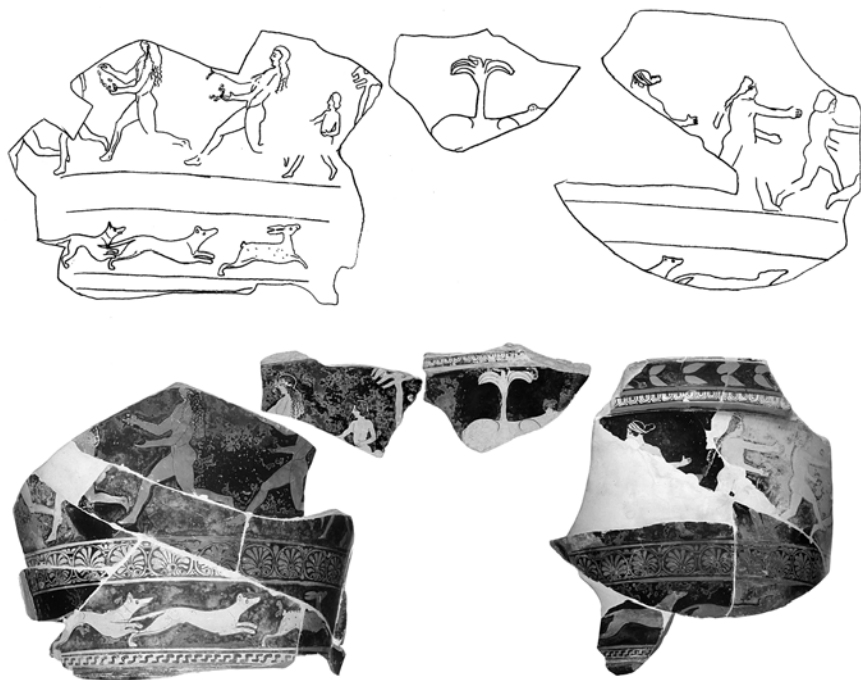


Figure 4.51 Attic red figure *krater* fragments, Basle, Cahn Collection inv. No. HC502, ca 430–420 BC, reproduced here by kind permission of J.-D. Cahn. Photo: A.F. Voegelin, courtesy of the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Line drawing L.A. Beaumont.

therefore, younger. Only the head, one arm and the feet survive of a seventh larger running figure: whether she is naked or not is impossible to determine, but her hair style with long locks bound into a chignon suggests she is to be understood as an older figure.

If, then, we consider the images found on the numerous black figure *krateriskoi* together with the images on the two red figure *kraters* just discussed, we can conclude the following. The vessels depict girls of various ages in the act of running, dancing or processing in an Artemisian sacred context indicated by a palm tree and/or burning altar. Some of the girls carry wreaths and others lighted torches, suggesting nocturnal rituals. Both prepubertal girls and pubertal *parthenoi* are represented, with adult women making a rare appearance. The prepubertal girls, with short hair and short *chitons*, outnumber the naked females, who are usually identifiable as *parthenoi* by their long hair and sometimes also the possession of breasts. More rarely a prepubertal girl may appear naked. No naked figures are present, as far as I am aware, on

krateriskoi from the Agora, Melite or the Akropolis. Indeed the Akropolis *krateriskoi* show only female figures wearing long *chitons*, and long bechitoned and long-haired maidens appear on some of the *krateriskoi* from Mounichia.

Images of long-haired, draped *parthenoi* dancing in a ritual context are, as we have already noted, nothing unusual in Athenian iconography. The images on the *krateriskoi* are, however, idiosyncratic in three respects: first, they present us with the unusual subject of girls running in a ritual setting; second, they depict nude girls in the sanctuary context; and third, the girls who perform in sacred space include prepubertal figures as well as *parthenoi*. Running in a ritual context implies either a race or a chase, a matter discussed at length by T.F. Scanlon.²⁵² While we know of the existence of agonistic races for girls at Sparta and in the panhellenic Heraia festival held at Olympia, we do not hear in the ancient literary sources of any such Athenian practice.²⁵³ We do occasionally, however, find images of females running in a ritual context on Athenian vessels other than the *krateriskoi*. For example, on a late black figure *lekythos* from Salamis several figures dressed in short *chitons* run in a sanctuary space indicated by an altar.²⁵⁴ Further, on a red figure *pyxis* of circa 460



Figure 4.52 Attic red figure *pyxis*, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München, Schoen 64, Follower of Douris, ca 460 BC. Photo: Renate Kühling.

BC from an unknown depositional context we observe modestly draped girls running in the vicinity of an altar placed before a palm tree (see Fig. 4.52).²⁵⁵ Here, however, the narrative is mythological and depicts Peleus in short *chiton* pursuing Thetis who clutches a dolphin, while ahead of her run her sister Nereids in the direction of the bearded male figure of Nereus who stands beside altar and palm tree. The designation of the sanctuary as sacred to Artemis via the incorporation of the palm tree motif makes sense when we consider the impending transition that Thetis faces once captured by Peleus, that is the transition from the maiden state to that of bride: a transition made under the watchful eye of Artemis to whom, as we know from the ancient literary sources, Greek girls made dedications on the eve of their marriage.²⁵⁶ The red figure *pyxis* thus underscores the evidence of the *krateriskoi* in associating running girls with the Artemisian context. Furthermore, it may also assist us with our deliberations as to whether a race or chase is depicted in the *krateriskos* images, particularly since the chase element presented on the red figure *pyxis* appears to be echoed on one of the unprovenanced red figure *kraters* earlier discussed. I refer here to the scene in which a number of wreath-holding naked girls run in a space with palm trees (see Fig. 4.51). Though the image is fragmentary, we are able in front of one of the palm trees to distinguish the figure of an animal which, to judge from the form of its body and ears, appears to be a bear from which the girls flee. This limited evidence thus allows us to tentatively suggest that the girls who run on the *krateriskoi* may also be participants in a chase rather than a race. Lastly, in seeking to evaluate the iconographic evidence on its own terms it is important to note that, as far as I am able to conclude from the available ceramic evidence, naked running or dancing girls appear only on *krateriskoi* excavated at Brauron and Mounichia, suggesting that particular rites of Artemis were associated with these two places, an observation paralleled in the ancient literary sources which record that the Arkteia ritual was peculiar to these two sanctuaries.²⁵⁷ The iconographic corpus, judged on its own terms, does indeed then point in the direction of the *krateriskos* images being associated with the Arkteia.

If we may reasonably connect the *krateriskos* imagery with the Arkteia, how are we to understand in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (644–645) the reference to girls in this context becoming or 'playing' the *arktos*, or bear, and shedding the *krokotos*, or saffron robe? In order to attempt to do this it is helpful to turn to the mythological *aetia* for the Arkteia ritual recorded in the ancient literary sources.²⁵⁸ The various sources, while differing in details, agree that at both Brauron and Mounichia a bear harmed one or more local inhabitants and was consequently killed by a group of young men.²⁵⁹ A plague or famine ensued and, in order to placate Artemis for the death of one of her creatures, the Athenians had to make their *parthenoi* play the bear and wear the saffron robe.²⁶⁰ We are further told

by the ancient literary sources that to ‘play the bear’ involved the girls being dedicated to Artemis; that they had to sacrifice to the goddess and to expiate themselves.²⁶¹ A reading of these myths facilitates an understanding of the Arkteia along two parallel trajectories which are by no means mutually exclusive for, as in the case of the Arrephoria, the Arkteia may be interpreted as a ritual concerned with both the safe maturation of Athenian girls and the well-being of the wider Athenian community. Viewed from the latter perspective, the girls who honoured Artemis by their celebration of the Arkteia ritual did so in order to placate the goddess on behalf of the Athenian people lest Artemis’ jealous wrath unleash plague or famine once more.²⁶² At the same time, and again in accordance with an underlying expiatory logic, the Arkteia functioned as a female maturation ritual. At face value, the designation of virgin Artemis as a goddess concerned with the life stage transitions of menarche and childbirth seems contradictory and baffling. While menarche heralds a time in the female’s life when virginity takes on a particular significance, childbirth constitutes the undeniable confirmation that virginity has been surrendered. Rather, therefore, than retrospectively viewing Artemis through an anachronistic Christian lens which bathes the virgin *kourotrophos* in

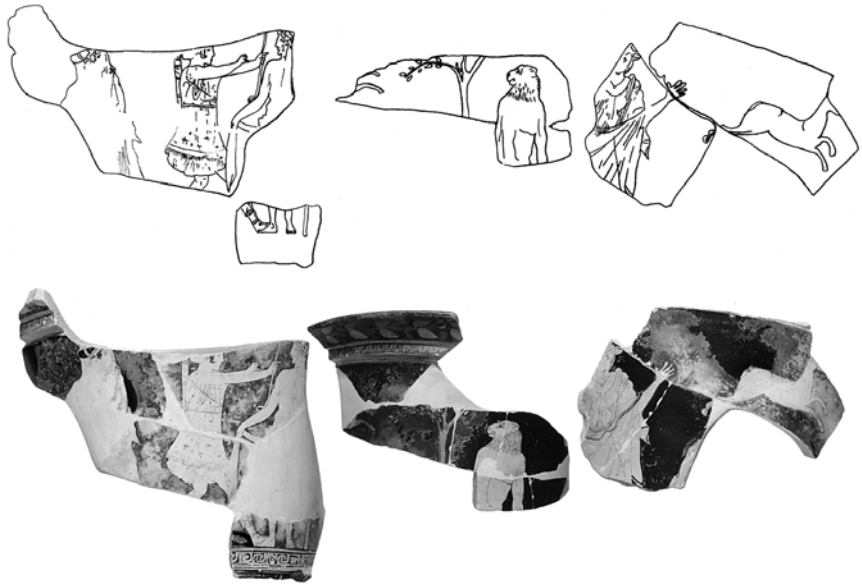


Figure 4.53 Attic red figure *krater* fragments, Basle, Cahn Collection inv. No. HC503, ca 430–420 BC, reproduced here by kind permission of J.-D. Cahn. Photo: A.F. Voegelin, courtesy of the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Line drawing L.A. Beaumont.

a benign light, it probably does far more justice to pagan belief to suggest that Artemis in Classical antiquity was considered to be a vengeful virgin capable of visiting punishment on those who contravened her code of sexual purity by relinquishing their virginity to marriage and motherhood.²⁶³ Consequently, it is likely that the mortal female approached puberty and childbirth with trepidation, and sought to appease and pacify the goddess via the observance of expiatory rituals.²⁶⁴ In this context, ‘playing the bear’ has a very particular resonance which the myth of Kallisto brings sharply into focus. Kallisto was one of the attendants of Artemis, but was seduced and impregnated by Zeus. As a result of her transgression she was transformed into a bear and shot by Artemis.²⁶⁵ This myth is depicted on an unprovenanced Attic red figure krater published by L. Kahil (see Fig. 4.53).²⁶⁶ Here Artemis with bow and arrow is watched by Apollo and a veiled woman, perhaps Leto or Hera, as she takes aim in the direction of leaping deer and a male and female figure with human body and bear head. While L. Kahil, along with G. Arrigoni, interpret the imagery in ritual terms as depicting a masked priest and priestess of Artemis participating in an Arkteian mystery performance, E. Simon and R. Hamilton are probably more correct in seeing here the myth of Kallisto and her son Arkas in the process of transforming into bears.²⁶⁷ As E. Bevan has demonstrated, the bear constituted for the ancient Greeks an archetypal mother symbol.²⁶⁸ With this in mind, it is therefore possible to suggest that at Brauron and Mounichia the Arkteia ritual anticipated the future time when girls would themselves become metaphorical bears, or mothers, whom Artemis might be tempted to slay. By performing an expiatory ritual, which perhaps involved symbolically trying to run away from their inevitable future transformation into mature mothers – just as the naked girls flee the bear on the red figure krater earlier discussed, or just as Thetis depicted in the Artemisian context on the previously noted red figure *pyxis* tries to escape Peleus who will be the agent of her maternal transformation – the girls strove to reassure Artemis that they prized their virgin state and would not relinquish it lightly.

Given that the total nudity of some of the females depicted on the *krateriskoi* presents a temporary inversion of normal female deportment and behaviour as perceived by the Athenians, we might propose that these girls have arrived at the central moment of ritual transition when by shedding their clothing they signal their future role as sexual beings. In this context it is also possible to suggest further that the young running or dancing girls dressed in short *chitons* may represent those who have not yet undergone the ritual of transition, while by contrast those depicted sporting long *chitons* and long hair may constitute those who have already completed the Arkteia maturation ritual. Since our earlier observation that the iconographical attributes of the naked girls depicted on the *krateriskoi* generally allows us to identify them as *parthenoi*, or pubertal maidens of marriageable age, there would then at face value seem to exist some conflict with the evidence

of the ancient literary sources that specify that the Arkteia was celebrated by prepubertal girls between the ages of five and ten. We might, however, attempt to reconcile this apparent contradiction as follows. Given that the Arkteia was a ritual that anticipated and prepared girls for their future maturation, rather than one that celebrated their actual arrival at menarche, marriage and motherhood, we might propose that the physical maturity of the naked running figures on the *krateriskoi* should be understood not as photographic-style documentary images but rather as the embodiment of symbolic reality: that is, as recognition and visual expression that the very act on the part of the young girls of engaging in and completing the bear ritual constituted a sign that the participants were now properly prepared to enter the liminal life stage represented by *partheneia*. Those girls who underwent the Arkteia ritual by their tenth year had therefore already completed the ritual transformation to *partheneia* that was subsequently biologically confirmed by the onset of the physical changes in their bodies that culminated in menarche. The representation as *parthenoi* on the *krateriskoi* of girls enacting the Arkteia ritual thus, I suggest, makes reference to the transformative agency of the ritual in preparing girls for their future. As earlier observed, a number of the running girls on the *krateriskoi*, both naked and clothed, carry torches suggesting that the rituals were enacted at night. Menander, furthermore, makes reference in the *Epitrepontes* (451–2) to nocturnal dances that were enacted at Halai by girls and women. That the cover of darkness was appropriate to rituals of life stage transition is well evidenced: we have noted it already as a key element in the Arrephoria, and both wedding and funeral processions took place after sunset and before sunrise respectively.

As to the question of which Athenian girls were eligible to participate in the Arkteia, and how far participation in the ritual spread throughout Athenian society, the ancient literary sources are ambiguous with some referring to the participation only of selected maidens and others claiming that all Athenian girls underwent the ritual before marriage.²⁶⁹ While the opportunity to participate in this female life stage ritual was certainly more open and attainable than was service as an *arrephoros*, it is likely that socio-economic means and status constituted the greatest determining factors and that while girls from wealthy, aristocratic families would almost certainly have ‘played the bear’, the opportunity to do so for those girls of less elevated background would have depended on the economic capacity of their parents to support them in such ritual observance.

As a final element in our discussion of the *krateriskoi*, we should consider what function these vessels may have served. While, as we have concluded, it is reasonable to connect the *krateriskos* imagery with the Arkteia, we must be careful not to assume that they served a direct cultic role in the celebration of the Arkteia ritual. Indeed, several factors indicate that this was not the case. First, while the ancient literary and iconographic evidence points

to the Arkteia being celebrated only at Mounichia and Brauron, the figure-decorated *krateriskoi* are found also at Halai Araphenides, Melite, the Agora and the Akropolis. Second, the use of the black figure *krateriskoi* seems to have been chronologically restricted. *Krateriskos* sherds from the Akropolis date to the late sixth century BC, while those from the Agora appear to belong to a 480 BC destruction level.²⁷⁰ At Brauron most of the *krateriskos* finds date to the first half of the fifth century BC and at Melite to the second quarter of the same century.²⁷¹ Only at Mounichia do the *krateriskoi* span a wider time frame from the sixth through the fifth centuries, but here also most deposits belong to the first half of the fifth century BC.²⁷² While, therefore, as a vessel shape associated with the worship of Artemis the *krateriskos* maintains its traditional black figure decorative style beyond the date in the early fifth century when black figure ceases to be the common choice for non-ritual vessels, use of the figured *krateriskos* seems to extend only from the late sixth to the late fifth centuries BC, with most of the surviving examples concentrated in the first half of the fifth century. This suggests that their relatively fleeting popularity was related to a temporary trend rather than their use in the service of a long-lived cultic ritual practice. Given the importance of the Arkteia ritual to the proper maturation of Athenian daughters as a precursor to the production of a new generation of Athenian sons and the renewal of the Athenian citizen body, C. Sourvinou-Inwood plausibly connects the temporal increase in *krateriskos* numbers with a proposed Kleisthenic reorganisation of the Arkteia.²⁷³

Keeping in mind the temporally restricted popularity of the black figure *krateriskoi* and the pattern of distribution that extends beyond the Brauron and Mounichia sanctuaries where the Arkteia was observed, it seems most logical to suggest that the *krateriskoi* constituted a form of votive offering to Artemis. Indeed a figure-decorated *krateriskos* deposited directly in front of an altar is depicted on a red figure *krater* fragment found at Brauron.²⁷⁴ Perhaps purchased in the vicinity of the Mounichia and Brauron sanctuaries, the *krateriskoi* might either be dedicated there by the girls who participated in the Arkteia or might be carried home and offered to Artemis in one of her many other Attic cult places in order to assure the goddess of the youngsters' piety and proper observance of her cult. Furthermore, as noted earlier, some *krateriskoi* bear traces of burning and these may therefore have been used as *thymiateria*, or incense burners. However, while *krateriskoi* may have been Artemis's preferred votive vessel, other ceramic evidence indicates that alternative vessel shapes rendered in a range of decorative styles might carry images similar to those found on the *krateriskoi* and therefore also function as gifts to Artemis that signalled the devotion and appropriate cultic observance due to her on the part of Athenian girls. I refer here not only to the two unprovenanced late fifth-century full-sized fragmentary red figure *kraters*, earlier discussed, that depict clothed and naked young females running in the Artemisian

sanctuary context, but also to a number of black figure, red figure and white ground *kylix*, *pyxis* and *lebes gamikos* fragments from Brauron that show girls dancing and running, some holding torches.²⁷⁵

Lastly, I address the question of the relationship of the late sixth- and fifth-century black figure *krateriskoi* to the stone statues of prepubertal girls that are well known from Brauron in the fourth century BC. While, as we have already discussed, the images of the girls on the *krateriskoi* may be associated with the Arkteia, we must resist any temptation to simplistically equate the *arktoi*, or little bears, with the female child statues. First of all, the flat-chested, prepubertal sculpted girls are draped in long *chiton* secured with cross straps, a manner of dress distinctly different to the short *chiton* of the prepubertal girls on the *krateriskoi*. Second, while the young females on the *krateriskoi* carry torches or wreaths, the sculpted girls hold bird or rabbit. And third, whereas boys are absent from the all-female rituals depicted on the *krateriskoi*, boy figures heavily outnumber those of girls in the sculpted medium.²⁷⁶ We should, therefore, conclude that the *krateriskoi* and the sculpted figures express two different aspects of the cult of Artemis – the former being votive offerings made in association with the female-only observation of the Arkteia, and the latter being dedicated probably by parents to *kourotrophic* Artemis in request or thanksgiving for the health and well-being of a treasured, usually boy, child.

4.6 Death

In her careful study of children's burials in the Athenian Kerameikos, S. Houby-Nielsen observes the differential treatment accorded those who, having survived infancy, died before they reached puberty.²⁷⁷ On one hand they were inhumed in pit or tile graves or in wooden coffins in the manner of adults, thus distinguishing them from younger children who received *enchytrismos* or *larnax* burial (on which subject see Chapter 3.4). At the same time, however, they were also set apart from adults by the overwhelming rejection of cremation as a suitable method of treatment of the juvenile corpse. Thus while the method of burial observed the child's sub-adult status, it also marked the youngster's advancing maturity, an aspect of social identity further highlighted by the grave goods interred with the body. In this context the preponderance of vessels associated with eating and drinking, which are commonly found in the graves of younger children, decreases in the burials of older children as also does the inclusion of special child vase shapes such as the spouted feeder or the miniature *chous*. In their place we find increasing numbers of terracotta animal figurines (such as dogs, monkeys, pigeons, cocks) and toys (such as balls and astragals), together with the appearance of *lekythoi* and objects expressive of a gender role such as *strigil*, soap, *aryballos*, mirror, spindle whorls and arrowheads. These artefacts stress the developing identity of the young child, with its need for

play and its socialisation via the adoption of appropriate gender-specific equipment, activities and ideals, such as athletic pursuits for the male and woolworking for the female. The presence of *lekythoi*, which proliferate in number commensurate with advancing maturity, have been convincingly argued by Houby-Nielsen to be linked with the increasing pollution engendered by death as a child grew closer to attaining adult status: functioning as perfumed oil containers, *lekythoi* were placed around the corpse both during the *prothesis*, or ritual mourning, and in the grave and seem to have served a purificatory function.²⁷⁸

Commemoration of children who, having survived the perils of infancy, subsequently died before they reached puberty could be effected by the erection of a tombstone above the child's last resting place. While we know of only one extant sixth-century example, recording the passing of the young siblings Philo and Megakles, many surviving late fifth- and fourth-century grave markers immortalise the loss of juveniles, both male and female.²⁷⁹ One possible catalyst for this new-found significance of the child in late fifth-century Attic funerary art may perhaps be traced to the effects of the Peloponnesian War and outbreaks of plague experienced by the Athenians in the 420s, a time when increased mortality rates and a consequent decrease in population numbers would have been sorely felt.²⁸⁰ While, as already observed in [Chapter 3](#), only a handful of grave stelai depict and commemorate an infant, a far greater number honour older children: this speaks of the developing social identity and worth of the child as it grew towards maturity. Notably, as far as I am aware, all the tomb markers depicting and commemorating an individual child adopt the stele form while the stone *loutrophoros*, with its nuptial connotations, was apparently reserved for those of adolescent or adult status. Until recently the common scholarly perception, based on the corpus of funerary stelai collated by C. Clairmont, had been that while both boys and girls could be honoured by the erection of a figured gravestone, those erected for male children outnumbered 2:1 those raised for female offspring.²⁸¹ However, the recent work of J. Grossman, entailing the collation of a wider data set of Attic funerary monuments, has shown that there is approximate parity between the number of boys and of girls memorialised by the provision of a grave marker carved in relief with a standing child figure.²⁸² When these stelai are accompanied by inscriptions, it is most common for the child to be identified only by its own name.²⁸³ In a few cases the father's name is also added, and more rarely the stele lists the child's name together with the patronym and *deme*.²⁸⁴ In rare cases, the child buried on Attic soil is identified by an accompanying inscription as being of non-Athenian origin.²⁸⁵

According to Grossman's figures, approximately 150 surviving gravestones depict and commemorate a single child.²⁸⁶ By stark contrast, only a few tomb markers depict two children without adults. As previously discussed in [Chapter 3.4](#), a handful of monuments present a kneeling or seated infant reaching



Figure 4.54 Attic grave stele, Broom Hall, Collection of Lord Elgin. Photo: Georgiana Bruce.

up to an older standing child, a composition that I argued depicts two siblings and which, dependent on individual family circumstances, may have marked the loss of both children or only of the older child.²⁸⁷ The sibling relationship would also seem to be in evidence on a small number of stelai on which a small boy or girl stands facing an unbearded youth (see Fig. 4.54).²⁸⁸ Further, on one very unusual tombstone, a small boy in *himation* holds up a bird to a flat-chested, lithe young female figure dressed in unbelted *chiton* with cross straps who holds *krotala*, or castanets (see Fig. 4.55).²⁸⁹ Largely on the basis of the presence of the *krotala*, C. Clairmont suggested that she is a *hetaira*. I would, however, question this identification since *krotala*, although otherwise absent on Attic grave stelai, appear more widely in Athenian figured art in the hands of both females and males and in contexts both related and unrelated to *hetairai*.²⁹⁰ The primary significance of the *krotala*, therefore, would seem not to define the gender or social status of their holder but rather to underscore the central role of dance in settings as varied as, for example, the symposiastic, other Dionysiac ritual, the wedding and the dancing lesson.²⁹¹ Given the youthful appearance and juvenile costume of the *krotala*-wielding female on the grave stele, and the presence of the small boy beside her, I suggest that the monument, probably specially commissioned to judge by its unique



Figure 4.55 Attic grave stele, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1896, mid fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

iconography, commemorates an adolescent girl well known in her lifetime for her dancing skills and depicted here with a younger brother.

The sibling relationship is also celebrated in extraordinary fashion on the funerary marker of Nikandros, son of Parmenon (see Fig. 2.76).²⁹² Here we see a young girl and boy of roughly equal stature engaged in our only extant example of the *dexiosis*, or handshake, gesture performed by two children. With this exception, the *dexiosis* is otherwise reserved for adults greeting adults or, as discussed subsequently in this chapter, on just a few occasions the handshake may be shared by an adult and a child.

While as we have seen a few stelai depict two children, I know of only one surviving grave memorial that presents three juveniles unaccompanied by adults (see Fig. 3.33).²⁹³ The stele depicts children of distinctly different ages: the oldest is a standing boy, naked except for a *himation* hanging from

his left shoulder, who is accompanied by his toy roller. Opposite him stands a somewhat smaller fully clothed girl, and between them they hold a now indistinct object. Kneeling on the ground between them is a clothed, probably female, infant who reaches up to clasp the leg of the standing boy. That the stèle commemorated the boy seems almost certain: it may perhaps also have honoured his two younger siblings.

The grave stelai erected above children's graves typically present the young deceased with a common assortment of attributes and attired in a fashion appropriate to their sub-adult status. Most frequently girls wear a high-belted *chiton* held in place either with shoulder straps or with cross straps attached to a disc positioned centrally on the chest: this outfit may be worn with or without *himation* (see Figs 2.3b and 4.15). Boys, by contrast, most commonly appear semi-naked with a *himation* hanging from one shoulder (see Figs 2.7b, 3.32 and 3.33): complete nudity in male juveniles, as discussed earlier in this chapter, is almost always reserved for slave boys. Some boys are, however, draped more fully in a *himation* that leaves only their chest bare (see Figs 4.8, 4.11 and 4.54). Both male and female children may wear a pointed *stephane* on their heads (see Fig. 2.7b). J. Grossman points out that gold headbands of this type have also been found interred with children, and suggests that these had been worn by the children while alive on the occasion of rituals and festivals they participated in.²⁹⁴ In death these headbands, in or on the tomb, probably reference the lost child's piety. Similarly, an idiosyncratic lock of hair worn centrally over the forehead, which is sported by both boys and girls on a number of grave stelai (see Fig. 4.15), may constitute ritual markers of advancing maturation achieved by the child during his/her lifetime. (See also discussion on pp. 29–30 above).

The most common attribute for both boys and girls on grave stelai is a small bird which is held in one hand (see Figs 3.32, 4.15, 4.54, 4.55 and 4.56). Frequently this bird is extended towards a small Maltese dog, another common motif on children's stelai, especially those for boys. Often the dog jumps up towards the bird proffered by the child (see Fig. 2.3b). While these animal companions of the young may, on one hand, have reminded the ancient viewer of the child's happy playtimes with its pets during life, it is highly likely that the bird and dog motifs also possessed symbolic significance. Already in Chapter 3.3, in my discussion of the frequent appearance of dogs with children on miniature red figure *choes*, I made note of the well-known strong chthonic associations of canines. I further suggested that in the funerary context the inclusion of dogs on children's stelai may have constituted a symbolic offering to *kourotrophic* Hekate in return for her protection of the young deceased. A number of scholars have also pondered the possible significance of the bird motif on grave stelai, usually suggesting that the bird symbolises the soul of the dead.²⁹⁵ However, as D. Woysch-Méautis points out, in the surviving corpus of Greek figured art the only certain examples we have of the representation of the soul depict not a bird but an *eidolon*, or diminutive

winged anthropomorphic being.²⁹⁶ She suggests rather, following B. Holtzmann, that the association of birds as playthings for children during their lives was extended in death on their commemorative funerary markers to become a signifier of the youth of the deceased.²⁹⁷ Her hypothesis seems to me to be a sound one, not least because in reviewing C. Clairmont's index of Attic stelai on which a figure clutches a small bird I have found that this motif is almost exclusively restricted to markers that incorporate a child or young adult.²⁹⁸ That is, although a small bird may be held equally by a mature man or woman or by a child, it is only seen in the hand of an adult if a juvenile is also present in the same composition: indeed, the bird is often offered by adult to sub-adult (see Figs 3.10, 3.35, 4.8 and 4.11). If the proposed symbolic association of bird with youth, and dog with the underworld, is correct then we might also further suggest that the funerary motif of child holding out a bird towards a dog that jumps up towards it may allude to the tender years of the deceased who is now welcomed to the chthonic sphere symbolised by the dog.

In addition to the small bird motif, a lesser number of children's grave stelai, particularly those of girls, include the figure of a larger bird such as a heron, duck, goose or partridge (see Figs 4.15 and 4.56).²⁹⁹ While for the



Figure 4.56 Attic grave stele of Kallikrite, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2775. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

most part their significance is not clearly understood, S. Lewis has drawn attention to the juxtaposition of the heron standing by the side of a doll-holding young female on four Attic stelai (see Fig. 4.56).³⁰⁰ Several more stelai depict a young female holding a doll without the presence of a heron (see Fig. 2.3b).³⁰¹ Given J. Reilly's convincing argument, presented in the discussion of 'Play' in section 4.3 of this chapter, that the funerary image of the naked adult doll with truncated arms and legs makes reference to similar votives offered by girls during life to the deities of health and life stage transition who protected the girl at menarche, then the heron may also perhaps function as a signifier of the maid's lost future erotic potential.

Absent from girls' grave markers, but a common feature of boys', is the *amaxis*, or wheeled stick (see Figs 2.7a, 3.32 and 3.33). Earlier in Chapter 3.3, in my discussion of the association of the *amaxis* with the *choes* and Anthesteria, I argued that the appearance of the wheeled stick on funerary stelai should be understood as making reference to the child's piety in life and his proper observation of Dionysiac ritual. If this reasoning is correct, it would then seem that *amaxis*, doll and dog, as common attributes on children's tombstones, all bear witness to the deceased's proper upbringing, ritual participation and reverence towards the gods. It is notable that the careful characterisation of the child according to the inclusion of these and the other mentioned attributes is particularly marked on the tombstones depicting and commemorating a single child. On stelai where the child is accompanied by an adult, or adults, the number of attributes accorded the child significantly decreases as the focus of attention on the juvenile becomes diluted: indeed, in this context only the bird remains a common motif.

A few grave markers erected for children include the figure of a servant alongside the child (see Fig. 4.15).³⁰² In these cases the young child unrealistically dwarfs the accompanying attendant in a manner that utilises differential stature to express a contrast in social status rather than age. Indeed, the primary purpose of the inclusion of a servant figure would seem to be the highlighting of the elevated socio-economic background and family from which the child came, and it is perhaps therefore no coincidence that on many of these stelai the child's name is supplemented by the patronym or *deme* name. J. Grossman also observes that the servant figure more frequently appears on funerary reliefs that honour boys rather than girls.³⁰³

While we can be certain that gravestones depicting one or more children without adults were erected to honour those who died before they attained maturity, the situation is less clear cut when we turn to examine the more numerous stelai that present one or more child figures in the company of an adult or adults. According to J. Grossman, 225 Attic tombstones fall into the latter category, as compared with 150 that depict only a single child.³⁰⁴ Most commonly a standing boy or girl is shown together with a woman, or with a man and a woman: a servant figure may also be added to the composition. A boy, or girl, may also appear with a man or two men. In all cases boys and

girls appear in roughly equal numbers, except in the case of an adult male, or males, shown alone with children, where boys appear twice as often as girls. The relationship between the figures is not always clear, and when inscriptions are absent or missing it is difficult to determine whether the marker commemorates only a dead adult(s), who leaves the child behind, or whether the child's death too is commemorated by the relief. On some stelai we are, however, assisted by inscriptions and what we are able to conclude from them is that a range of relationships of adults with children was displayed in the cemetery. We may further also observe that the child might be memorialised together with the adult(s) or, as a representative of the living community, underscore the deceased's role and worth in life and legacy in death.



Figure 4.57 Attic grave stele of Aristolea daughter of Epiteles from the *deme* of Xypete and of Antias son of Antiphanes from the *deme* of Acharnai, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 280, ca 340–330 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Stelai depicting a boy or girl with an adult female variously show the youngster leaning against the knee of the seated woman or reaching out to a small bird held by the seated or standing adult (see Fig. 4.57). Occasionally the two engage in a handshake.³⁰⁵ Where inscriptions accompany the image, the name of the deceased woman may appear alone or accompanied by that of the child. While in most cases it is likely that the bond between them is that of mother and son or daughter (though that of grandmother and grandchild is also possible), this relationship is never made explicit by the inscription. Rather, if the child is specifically identified as a son or daughter, it is the paternal descent that is advertised by the notation of the father's name after that of the child.³⁰⁶ That the relationship between child and woman on the stelai may, at least in some cases, be other than that of mother (or grandmother) and offspring is demonstrated by a number of grave markers on which the seated female is identified as a wet nurse depicted, presumably, with one of her old charges: in some cases the status of the wet nurse as a *metic* is also clearly stated (see Fig. 3.10).³⁰⁷

Funerary stelai depicting a child in the sole company of a man, or men, occur less frequently than those that present a child accompanied either by an adult female or by a man and a woman, but the subject is not as rare as has heretofore been considered. As already discussed in Chapter 3, only two extant grave markers show an infant in the sole company of an adult male, for the role of nurturer and carer of the youngest in society did not constitute an element in the social construction of the ideal male citizen (see Fig. 3.35). Where, however, older children are concerned a different dynamic is represented on the grave stelai, with a boy appearing twelve times in the care of an adult male, and a girl depicted alone with one or two men some six times. This, as already earlier discussed, suggests the increasing social value and potential of the growing child which, on occasions, rendered the cross-generational relationships of adult male and juvenile family members worthy of public display. Again, the particular relationships depicted seem to vary, and the commemorative focus of the stele may extend to both adult and child or only to the adult. In the case of boys depicted with men, we possess one indubitable example of a stele erected to honour both father and son: this concerns the stele of Philokles son of Dikaïos, represented by a bearded standing figure, and of Dikaïos his young son (see Fig. 4.8).³⁰⁸ Three other stelai bearing the image of a small boy standing before a seated or standing bearded male, and in two cases shaking hands, were probably also intended to depict the father-son relationship: interestingly all three were found in the Peiraeus and two of them had been erected by families who hailed not from Athens but from Miletos and Knidos.³⁰⁹ A further stele from Peiraeus presents a young boy shaking hands with a young unbearded man: both names are inscribed, Platon and Demokrates, and it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that they are brothers.³¹⁰ On another five funerary monuments the composition is expanded to include three figures. These comprise a bearded



Figure 4.58 Attic *loutrophoros-amphora* grave marker of Kallonides son of Kallion and of Kalliades, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3732. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

man who faces, and usually shakes hands with, a youthful unbearded male who is sometimes dressed as a warrior: standing between them or behind the older man is a small boy draped, or semi-draped, in a *himation* (see [Fig. 4.58](#)).³¹¹ On those stelai that are inscribed, only one or two names are supplied and the child remains anonymous. That the relationship that binds the three together is that of father with an older and a younger son, rather than that of father with son and grandson, is suggested by the fact that in all but one of the cases the funerary marker either takes the form of a stone *loutrophoros*, or incorporates a depiction of a *loutrophoros*, a shape known to have been associated in burial with those who died unwed. Of the three figures depicted on each of these gravestones, this unwed status presumably applies to the young unbearded man, thus suggesting he is son to the older bearded figure and brother to the young boy.

A more rarely found composition shows two bearded men shaking hands in the presence of a child. In one certain case the child is a boy, while on three

other occasions we find a girl (see Fig. 4.59).³¹² Inscriptions survive on only two of the markers, and these name either one or both of the adult males. It is possible in all four cases, given the mature status of both men, that the relationship depicted is that of brothers who are shown together with the child of one of them. However with regard to the three tombstones that incorporate girl rather than boy, M. Xagorari-Gleissner has put forward an intriguing suggestion that reinterprets the relational significance of the figures.³¹³ While agreeing that the girl should be viewed as the daughter of one of the men, she proposes that the second man is not the girl's paternal uncle but rather her prospective groom and that the *dexiosis*, or handshake, gesture represents the formal marriage contract entered into by the two men. She further suggests that the image was considered of significance in the funerary arena in those cases where a girl was an *epikleros*, that is an heiress as a result of the family having no sons. Given that the girl depicted in the reliefs is small, it is worth remembering that girls were often betrothed by their fathers to their future husbands while still young children and many years before their married life would begin. Demosthenes' sister was, for example, less than five years old when she was betrothed.³¹⁴ However, given that the girl on the stele of Kleomenes sports the *parthenos*-style plait that falls down her back, it may be that the diminution of the female was intended not so much to



Figure 4.59 Attic grave stele of Kleomenes, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 880, ca 410–400 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

emphasise her tender years as to reflect the much greater social status of her father and her prospective groom and her subordination to them.

Another three funerary stelai show a girl either shaking hands with, or reaching up to, a bearded man.³¹⁵ Two of these tombstones are accompanied by an inscription, one naming only the man and the other naming both man and girl. Perhaps here we see father and daughter, and possibly the *dexiosis* gesture unusually shared by adult male and girl signifies the daughter's special status as an *epikleros*.

A good number of grave markers present a boy or girl in the company of a woman and a bearded man: a servant may also be present. In this setting, one adult is usually seated and shakes hands with the other standing adult. The child also stands, with its attention usually, but not always, directed towards the seated figure. In most cases this is probably a family group representing husband, wife and child, though in those examples where the male is unbearded we may be viewing a parent with an older and a younger child.³¹⁶ Some stelai may, alternatively, depict three generations of grandparent, parent and child: the tombstone of Littias, Choirine and Lysistrate may provide one such example since the accompanying epigram records that Littias was 100 years old when he died (see Fig. 4.60).³¹⁷ When inscriptions are present they may, as here, name and commemorate all three individuals. In other cases only the man and woman are identified by name.³¹⁸ Less commonly only the name of the adult male or female is supplied.³¹⁹ In one unique case a pair of embracing females, one fully grown and the other juvenile, are individually identified while the seated bearded man remains anonymous: Clairmont suggests that the marker honours two sisters.³²⁰ Another particularly interesting relief, depicting a typical group of seated woman shaking hands with standing bearded man with child between them, reminds us that the images displayed in the Attic cemetery were ideal constructs. The stele, from Eleusis, records the names of Eutythis, Philippos and Dionysios his son, who is also identified as an *isoteles*, or freedman.³²¹ While the names of Eutythis and Philippos were inscribed by the same hand, that of Dionysios differs, suggesting that the memorial was originally erected to honour the parents and that Dionysios was later buried with them. Represented here is an ideal family group, depicted according to the iconographic schema employed by many Athenian citizen families and utilised here by the one-time slave Dionysios to publicly honour his parents and celebrate his family after the fashion of nearby citizen burials.

In the fourth century there is a tendency for the number of figures depicted on relief-sculpted funerary markers to multiply. This variously leads to a child appearing in a wider family grouping, or to the incorporation of two children in a multi-figured scene. In the latter case this most commonly involves a standing child and an infant and, where the sex of the infant can be determined, we find that the two children comprise a boy and a girl to create the ideal nuclear family.³²² There are also examples of funerary



Figure 4.60 Attic grave stele of Littias, Choirine and Lysistrate, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 3504, early fourth century BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

markers on which the infant is replaced by a second standing child, and again the son-daughter family balance is maintained.³²³ Only in a few cases are both children male, and I know of no examples where both young children are female, though a young girl and a *parthenos* may appear together on the same monument.³²⁴

One monument on which it is often assumed that two young girls are shown with their father is the well-known stele of Xanthippos (see Fig. 4.10).³²⁵ A second tombstone, that of Euempolos, is also frequently interpreted as depicting a father with his two young children, though this time a girl and a boy (see Fig. 4.11).³²⁶ In both cases I judge these interpretations to constitute a misunderstanding of the iconography and, as outlined earlier in this chapter in our consideration of the nurture of the growing child, I therefore propose an alternative reading. On both stelai the adult bearded male is seated on a *klismos*, or high-backed chair, and is partially draped in a

himation that leaves either his chest or his whole upper body bare. Xanthippos is accompanied by a small female figure dressed simply in a *chiton* who reaches her arms up towards the cobbler's last held by Xanthippos: both dress and gesture confirm her identity as a child. A second female figure, though still diminutive in relation to Xanthippos, is markedly taller than the child: she is dressed in *chiton* and *himation* beneath the folds of which the outline of her right breast is visible, and is finely decked with an earring and an *opisthosphendone* which binds her hair onto the back of her head. All of these features identify her as a diminutised adult female. Euempolos, too, is approached by two small figures: a short-haired female dressed modestly in *chiton* and *himation* who stands impassively, and a smaller semi-draped clean-faced male who stretches up an arm to Euempolos. Their dress and stance suggest that the female is an adult woman and that the male is a boy. On both stelai we therefore appear to have the nuclear family group of father, mother and child depicted after an unusual fashion, according to which the adult male is represented on an exaggerated scale relative to his wife and child. As often noted throughout this book, the representation of physical stature may be manipulated in Athenian, and more widely Greek, art in order to communicate to the viewer not only relative age and life stage but also relative social status and hierarchy. In the case of Xanthippos and Euempolos, therefore, the status of the adult male is greatly exaggerated over and above that of accompanying wife and child. Given, however, that we do not elsewhere on Athenian grave stelai of the fifth and fourth centuries witness this use of differential stature in the representation of adult male and female, we must ask why it is found on these two unusual grave markers. The key may lie in examining for whom they were erected. Xanthippos, to judge by the attribute of the cobbler's last that he holds in one hand, was a lowly shoemaker, possibly a *metic*. Though Euempolos's profession is not hinted at by the iconography of his grave relief, it has been suggested that he was one of the slaves named in a naval list of the late fifth century BC who, in return for their participation in a battle against the Spartans, were granted their freedom.³²⁷ In this case, we have here two Athenian grave stelai erected to commemorate men who in life possessed only a very low social status. Their death, however, offered the opportunity to commemorate and immortalise them in the cemetery context. While in the same context the wealth and worth of a higher-ranking Athenian citizen male might have been marked on his stele by the inclusion of a servant figure alongside his attendant family members, in the case of the lowly Xanthippos and Euempolos who are unlikely ever to have owned servants, their importance was stressed rather by their exaggerated physical stature relative to wife and child who, by virtue of their gender and age, were his social inferiors. Given that the two stelai both seem to have been produced in the late fifth century BC, we may have here a short-lived, and unsuccessful, experiment in the creation of a funerary relief type for the Athenian underclasses. That those

on the lower rungs of the Athenian social ladder ultimately preferred to utilise the accepted iconographic formulae established for the commemoration of members of the Athenian citizen body seems clear to judge by the evidence provided by the earlier-discussed stele of the freedman Dionysios and his parents and also by the several stelai of *titthai*, or wet nurses, that we have already considered (see Fig. 3.10). A tomb marker erected for the midwife and doctor Phanostrate also depicts the deceased after the fashion of a proper Athenian lady seated on a *klismos*, or high-backed chair, and performing the *dexiosis*, or handshake, gesture with a woman named Antiphile who stands before her (see Fig. 3.39). Her profession, however, is here given unique iconographical emphasis by the inclusion of the figures of no fewer than four young children in the relief: three young standing draped girls and a naked infant boy.³²⁸

In addition to their representation on funerary stelai, children also appear in the mortuary context on Athenian painted ceramics of the sixth and fifth centuries BC.³²⁹ On Archaic black figure vessels and funerary plaques they participate as mourners at the family *prothesis* or graveside rituals. On Classical white ground *lekythoi* they pay homage to the dead as visitors to the tomb or may themselves be depicted as the deceased. In no instance, however, is a child the subject of a *prothesis* scene. While boys and girls as mourners occur in roughly even numbers on Athenian ceramics, it is notable that on all white ground *lekythoi* where a child can be identified as the deceased, the figure is apparently male. Why this should be is not clear, particularly since as we have seen in the case of funerary stelai erected for dead children there is approximate equity in the frequency with which both boys and girls are honoured.

White ground *lekythoi* depicting dead children fall into four broad categories:

- A boy about to depart with Charon in his boat across the River Styx.
- A child's lifeless body carried by a woman.
- A boy, or a statue of a boy, standing above his tomb.
- A child, above whom an *eidolon* may hover, positioned beside a funerary stele.

The four surviving images that depict a child with Charon were painted in the years around 430 BC and show either a young naked chubby boy with toy roller or amulet string, or an older boy draped in *himation*.³³⁰ On only two occasions is a dead child shown in literal fashion. On an early polychrome white ground *lekythos* of circa 460 BC, a woman gazes down at the stiff lifeless and naked body of the boy she holds in her arms: a *sakkos* hanging from the wall indicates that this is an intimate and private moment of grief that takes place within the house (see Fig. 4.61).³³¹ The second vessel depicts a subsequent and more public moment following a child's death,



Figure 4.61 Attic white ground *lekythos* depicting a woman carrying a dead boy, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F2447, Inscription Painter, ca 460 BC. Photo: bpk/Antikensammlung, SMB.



Figure 4.62 Attic white ground *lekythos*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1896–1908 G254, Manner of the Bird Painter, ca 425 BC. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

when the small wrapped body is carried to the grave by a woman who again focuses her gaze on the corpse.³³² On all other white ground *lekythoi* where a dead child is depicted, the reference to death is less brutally direct, and the deceased is visualised as still animate as he stands beside, or on, his tomb witnessing the approach of family mourners, some of whom bear funerary offerings. The status of the boy as the deceased is unmistakable on four vessels where an *eidolon*, or winged anthropomorphic figure representing his soul or life force, flies above his head (see Fig. 4.62).³³³ This scene type appears to be reserved for older rather than younger boys, and a further compositional schema presents the dead youth standing statue-like atop his funerary stele.³³⁴

The long-lived role of children as mourners of a deceased family member is evidenced by Athenian ceramic iconography ranging from the second half of the eighth century through to the end of the fifth century BC. Already on Late Geometric *amphorae* and *kraters*, children are depicted among adult mourners at the *prothesis* ritual.³³⁵ Their presence in this same context is further elaborated on black figure funerary plaques and vessels dating from the late seventh to the early fifth century BC and, less commonly, on red figure pots of fifth-century date.³³⁶ Of the vessels on which children figure at the *prothesis*, the most commonly occurring pot shapes are the *loutrophoros* and the *phormiskos*, the latter being an oil vessel whose organic shape appears to have replicated in durable clay the leather or cloth pouches used by children for the storage of their beloved knucklebones.³³⁷ One *phormiskos* shows no fewer than one infant and five older children in attendance at the *prothesis* ritual (see Fig. 4.63). In many of these *prothesis* scenes, the increasing engenderisation of the growing child is evident. Girls appear, without fail, in the company of the adult women who surround the bier, some of them imitating the mourning gestures of their adult female companions, raising one or two hands to their head or reaching out to touch the bier or the deceased. Boys, by contrast, are often grouped with the men at a distance from the corpse and, like the men, perform more controlled mourning gestures, raising one hand to the head or stretching out one arm in valediction. In some instances, however, their gendered male behaviours are overridden by their childish characteristics, causing them to mourn in the less restrained fashion of the female. Likewise, as social beings whose gender is yet fluid and forming, they may appear in the company of the mourning women in the immediate vicinity of the bier rather than with the more remotely placed adult males. On the Sappho Painter's well-known black figure plaque (see Fig. 2.1), a small boy stands symbolically between the men and the women: though grouped with the male mourners, he clutches the leg of the bier, thus demonstrating his raw grief and connecting himself with the family's female members who surround the deceased and mourn expressively.³³⁸ The two other children in the scene, an older and a younger girl, mourn after the fashion of women, one stretching out to touch the shroud and the other beating her head with her hands.



Figure 4.63 Attic black figure *phormiskos* depicting children in attendance at the *prothesis*. In addition to the infant carried by a woman and the two children standing by the side of the bier, all visible in this image, a further three children are also present on this vessel, standing to left of the bier. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 1438, ca 540–530 BC. Photo: © Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico.

Children as mourners on fifth-century white ground *lekythoi* appear not in the context of the *prothesis*, which is a rarely occurring subject on white ground vessels, but rather as visitors to the tomb where they are sometimes depicted bringing offerings or accompanied by the deceased. On a number of examples a young boy stands or sits in close proximity to, or even on, the grave monument which, as is sometimes indicated by a helmet deposited on the monument steps, has been erected to honour the warrior who stands adjacent (see *Fig. 4.64*).³³⁹ The relationship between child and warrior, now lost to death, may be that of father–son or, given the warrior’s unbearded state, that of older and younger brother. On other surviving *lekythoi*, a boy or girl prepares to deposit a funerary offering at a tomb. While this offering may be gender neutral, such as a wreath, in other cases the offering may be gender specific: we may note here two *lekythoi* on which a girl brings a doll or mirror.³⁴⁰ In only one case that I know of does white ground iconography incorporating the child figure clearly exhibit the heavy influence of the imagery of contemporary funerary stelai: on a *lekythos* in Athens a woman seated on a *klismos* offers a bird to a small naked boy who stands at her knee (see *Fig. 4.65*).³⁴¹



Figure 4.64 Attic white ground *lekythos*, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1936, Quadrate Painter, ca 420 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Figure 4.65 Attic white ground *lekythos*, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1947, Painter of Munich 2335, ca 430–420 BC. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Lastly in our consideration of children and the mortuary context, I must make brief mention of the many figures of male and female child slaves and servants who appear in sculpted and painted funerary iconography alike. As argued earlier in this chapter, I identify as boys of servile status those diminutive, completely naked figures who accompany usually an adult male or occasionally a second boy who, depicted on a larger scale and semi or fully draped, can be identified as a deceased child of free status (see Fig. 4.17). Such boy servants or slaves may also be included in multi-figure funerary images that depict the wider family. Often they hold their master's folded mantle and/or a *strigil* and *aryballos*.³⁴² Girl slaves or servants similarly appear with one or more adult females, with the larger figure of a girl of free status, or accompanying a larger family group (see Fig. 4.15). They are most easily identifiable by their mode of dress – often long-sleeved tunic – and assist their mistress by holding a baby or box.³⁴³ Sometimes the foreign, non-Greek ethnic identity of the child slave is encapsulated by the depiction of curly hair, snub nose and thick lips.³⁴⁴

* * *

In this chapter I have discussed the Athenian iconography of the developing child according to a number of thematic categories: nurture, work and play, education, cult and ritual, and death. The evidence considered has ranged widely to include figured pottery, funerary and votive sculpture, and coroplastic art. Situated between the end of infancy and the onset of puberty, the developing childhood phase has been shown to be a time when enculturation and engenderisation processes gathered increasing momentum and significance. During the earlier part of this childhood period, that is between the emergence from infancy in the third year of life until approximately the seventh year, both male and female children seem to have shared some commonality of experience, continuing from infancy largely to inhabit the domestic sphere of mother, female relatives and, depending on the family's socio-economic status, household slaves. Nevertheless, some differences that are clearly visible in the representation of the dress and playthings of young male and female children bear witness to the early socialisation of boys and girls via the attempt to create socially desirable gendered identities. Subsequently, during an older stage of childhood, that is from around the seventh year to puberty, the iconography bears witness to the intensification of ideal gender roles as depicted in the activities and behaviours of male and female: boys, for example, are seen to engage in the acquisition of formal education while girls accompany, assist and learn from their adult female relatives. Such deepening gender differences are, furthermore, underscored by the contrast found in the types of grave offerings inhumed with deceased juveniles, with *strigils*, *aryballoi* and arrowheads sometimes included in the burials of boys, and mirrors and spindle whorls found in the tombs of at

least some girls. At the same time in the sphere of religious ritual we also see the increasing incorporation of the growing male and female child into Athenian society. This again may take place along gendered trajectories, with competitive choral participation featuring large for boys and maturation rituals possessing particular significance for girls.

Over the course of the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries, the developing child is variously characterised in Athenian iconography. Most consistently, the child is presented either as a powerful symbol of the *oikos* or as a foil to the primary adult protagonist(s) in a scene. The child may, in addition, be depicted as a powerful ritual agent in the context of his/her family, the wider community, or even the Athenian state. In the later fifth and fourth centuries BC the child also comes to be represented in increasing numbers as the central, and not infrequently sole, focus of images created in both two- and three-dimensional artistic media. This speaks of the developing social identity and worth of the juvenile as he/she grew towards maturity.

Last, but not least, this chapter has re-examined the iconography and symbolism of children's playthings and animal companions in Athenian figured art and has concluded that our traditional interpretation of these images as cute vignettes of the young with their toys and pets is nothing more than a modern perceptual misunderstanding embedded in our own cultural vision of childhood. Rather, it has been suggested that the animals and playthings characteristically depicted with children in Athenian iconography carried deep symbolic and ritual resonances for the ancient viewer: the *amax* or wheeled stick speaking of the boy's youthful piety and reverence for Dionysos, the truncated doll bearing witness to the girl's proper ritual observation as she grew towards physical and social maturity, the dog signifying the chthonic context, the small bird held in the hand referencing the youth of the deceased, and the domestic cat and other felines functioning as an elite symbol for boys belonging to wealthy families. Athenian art presents us with a rich symbolic landscape, but in seeking to navigate that landscape we must remember that its signposts reference not our own ideals and values but those of a distinctly different society distanced from our own by time and space.

CONCLUSION

The focus of the research presented in this book has been the iconography of childhood from birth through the whole prepubertal phase of life as presented by Athenian two- and three-dimensional figured art produced between the late seventh and the late fourth century BC. Care has, however, been taken to avoid pursuit of a narrow, unilateral iconographic study in favour of a more broadly contextualised approach that situates the iconographical evidence within the wider archaeological and ancient literary setting. Fundamental to the investigation has been the underlying premise that in order to attempt to interpret the iconography of childhood we must place the images within the cultural milieu to which they originally belonged. Thus the methodology proposed in [Chapter 2](#) for the interpretation of the Athenian iconography of childhood age is based on an analysis of the Athenians' own biological and social perceptions of the juvenile life stage: this has allowed the establishment of a set of objective representational criteria that when applied together to the image of a child can be used to evaluate the stage of childhood to which the figure in question belongs. Moreover, given the ancient Athenian view of childhood as comprising a number of biologically and socially determined developmental phases, I have stressed that the attempt to attribute a precise chronological age to a two- or three-dimensional representation of a child is not possible, and is furthermore both irrelevant and misguided.

Situating the images in the cultural context to which they originally belonged has also demanded that we consider and weigh the particular nature, production and consumption of the varying categories of iconographic evidence with which we are faced. The function of the object, and/or its manufacture or use by a particular social group clearly impacted on the way that the image of the child was presented and viewed. Thus, for example, the intimate representation of a woman suckling an infant appears essentially only in the form of terracotta figurines, most frequently dedicated in the shrines of *kourotrophic* deities concerned with the well-being of the young. Such biases in the evidence also remind us that we must resist the inclination to interpret Athenian iconography as presenting us with simple vignettes of childhood. We must always remember that it was not the artists'

intention to present us with a pictorial record of child life. What we see in Athenian art is both the creation of images designed to be viewed and used in a particular way, and the ancient Athenian visualisation and expression of the social construction and perception of childhood. In utilising the iconographical evidence to attempt to reconstruct childhood experience we must therefore be very cautious, as the ideal and the reality were almost certainly not always congruent.

We must also in viewing Athenian images of children remain alert to the possibility that many of these were imbued for their ancient audience with deeper symbolic, cultural and ritual resonances that do not automatically feature as an element in our modern viewing response. This we have, for example, explored in the context of two- and three-dimensional representations of children at play, where the appearance of *amaxis*, dog, hare, bird, doll or swing may indicate, respectively, Dionysiac *choic* reverence, chthonic significance, fecundity engendered by ritual observance, youth, proper upbringing and piety, and expiatory ritual. That I view Athenian art as a symbolic and conventional 'language', amenable to careful decipherment, will by now be clear to the reader. It is, however, a view underpinned by a recognition that the individual symbols and conventions employed in Athenian figured art are not independent monolithic entities but are rather subject to modification according to their context of use and mutual juxtaposition. This may be illustrated, for example, first by consideration of the appearance of the hare in the company of juvenile figures, and second by specific features of sub-adult female dress. In the first case, the hare clearly possesses a different significance when depicted together with a prepubescent child than it does when depicted together with a pubescent boy: in the arms of a young lad depicted on a *chous* it suggests fecundity born of Dionysiac observance, while in the hands of an adolescent youth it may point to the hunt or a pederastic love gift, thus referencing age-appropriate activities. In the second case, the *peplos* and back mantle garb that identify the *parthenos* life stage of an Athenian girl is on occasions modified by the addition of the high girdle and chest cross-bands that are usually reserved for the prepubertal phase: a more precise indication is thereby communicated to the viewer that the wearer of the costume has only recently arrived at puberty.

Throughout this book it has become clear that in our attempts to understand the ancient Athenian perception and experience of childhood, and consequently its resulting iconographic presentation, we must invest in a more nuanced and sophisticated consideration of the interplay of age, gender and socio-economic status. As a result of the hierarchical nature of Athenian society, it is clear that multiple parallel childhoods existed: male, female, citizen, metic, slave. All these were childhoods that were differentially perceived, experienced and represented. Consequently, this book has gone some way to exploring how we might seek to distinguish in the pictorial corpus the different socio-economic categories to which children variously belonged, and

has attempted to identify consistent criteria employed by Athenian artists and craftsmen in the representation of free and servile children. That gender, too, had a significant impact on the perception, experience and iconographic presentation of childhood is without doubt. As we have seen throughout the course of this study, the iconographic evidence bears witness to the frequently gender-specific nature of gesture, dress, occupations, play, ritual roles and activities of childhood. Even the duration of childhood was different for the future citizen elite male and female: longer for the former and shorter for the latter, a contrast replicated in the case of the free and servile child. Furthermore, particularly in the case of the male child, gender was neither static nor defined necessarily by biological sex but was, rather, a fluid category of identity, determined and re-determined by the shifting social impact of age on biological sex: this we have, for example, on occasions seen in the expressive feminised mourning gestures of young boys, together with their physical placement in association with the female mourners and the bier, as compared with the restrained and controlled mourning gestures exhibited by older lads and men, who stand at a dignified remove from the grieving women and the corpse.¹ Engenderisation was a critical element in the socialisation of the Athenian child and was a process that gathered pace as the child grew in years: indeed, the increasing importance and significance to Athenian society of the child as it advanced towards maturity is evidenced by the relative length of [Chapters 3](#) and [4](#) of the present work, with a far greater number and a much wider range of images bearing testimony to the older prepubescent child than to the infant.

Just as gender and socio-economic status impacted on the Athenian iconography of childhood, so too did the passage of time. Between the late seventh and the late fourth centuries BC, the chronological period on which this book has focused, temporal change in the representation of the child is in evidence, in terms both of artistic style and of modes of visualisation. Over these centuries, significant developments included: (i) a marked growth in the frequency of the representation of the infant and prepubertal child figures, together with (ii) a widening of the range of pictorial contexts in which they appear; (iii) the increasingly finely observed iconographic delineation of the biologically and socially defined stages and ages of childhood; (iv) a shift from depicting the child as a miniature adult to the emergence of a sub-adult body ideal; (v) an expansion of the media types employed for the representation of the child, from the minor arts of the coroplast and the pot painter to the grander and more costly relief and free-standing products of the sculptor; and (vi) a marked shift from the utilisation of the juvenile figure in art primarily as a symbol of the *oikos* and/or of the adult female's ideal role as dutiful and productive wife and mother, to the presentation of the child also as an entity worthy of depiction in its own right, particularly in the public context of ritual observance or commemoration. Most of these developments variously occurred between the late sixth and the early fourth

centuries BC, a period at Athens that witnessed extraordinary political and social changes, to which it is hard not to attribute at least in part some of the developments in the iconography of the child figure. Our discussions in [Chapter 3](#) of the development and representation of the infant body ideal on large numbers of late fifth- and early fourth-century *choes*, and in [Chapter 4](#) of the appearance of school scenes on Athenian figured pottery in the last decade of the sixth and the first half of the fifth century BC, found us reasonably attributing the temporary popularity of such imagery to, respectively, the effects of the Athenian plague and the democratisation of the Athenian political system. Further, as I have previously discussed elsewhere, Perikles' citizenship law of 451/450 BC, in restricting Athenian citizenship to those individuals born of two legally married Athenian citizen parents, endowed a much-prized birthright on a select group of Athenian offspring, and most likely imbued the iconography of the child with a new significance.² Lastly, we should make mention of a critical factor that most likely indirectly fuelled the ongoing developments we have witnessed in the iconography of the child from the end of the sixth century through the fourth: the emergence of an Athenian 'middle class'. The democratisation of the Athenian political system allowed a non-aristocratic sector of the citizen populous to exploit the opportunities thereby presented to them and, as the decades passed, to consolidate their wealth and position. As would later be the case in Victorian Britain, their children would have experienced childhoods differentiated from those of poorer or serf families as a result of their educational access, older work-start ages, more extensive ritual involvement and early female marriage. As vehicles of middling-class aspirations, I venture to suggest that these children increasingly over time became a focus of competitive display and concern, particularly in the ritual sphere, thus by the late fifth and early fourth centuries giving rise to the erection of costly stone grave markers and votive statues. In making this suggestion, however, I make use of a number of unproven assumptions, and it is certainly the case that far more work on this interesting line of enquiry remains to be done.

Before closing, it is also worth contemplating what other future directions ancient childhood studies might take. For my own part, I plan to extend the approach I have established in this book to the treatment of the adolescent life stage at Athens. Our understanding of ancient Greek childhood and youth would also greatly benefit from the investigation by other scholars of the archaeology and iconography of the juvenile life stage in other regional centres: were the modes of visualisation, and also the perception and experience of childhood, markedly different at, for example, Sparta or on Crete? There is also a broader need for scholars to explore the study of past childhoods in a multi-disciplinary, diachronic and cross-cultural context in order to develop more refined and sophisticated ways in which we can access the youth of bygone ages. This will involve investigating childhood from the literary, archaeological, iconographic, bioarchaeological and ethnographic

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perspectives, together with the integration of these approaches in order to gain a more nuanced understanding. An excellent recent example of such work is to be found in an article published by S.E. Halcrow and N. Tayles, in which an attempt is made to combine the approaches of bioarchaeology and social archaeology in the study of children and childhood.³

As archaeologists, we must not fail to recognise the obvious: that children were a major constituent of past communities and had an inevitable impact on material culture. It is, therefore, up to us to find ways of identifying their presence and agency in the archaeological debris left behind. The first step is to consciously strive to incorporate children into our deliberations and explanations of the archaeological record.

NOTES

1 FRAMING THE CONTEXT

- 1 The core research undertaken for the doctoral thesis was selectively published as L.A. Beaumont, 'Mythological childhood: a male preserve? An interpretation of classical Athenian iconography in its socio-historical context', *BSA* 90 (1995), 339–61. The doctoral research also formed the basis of the following articles by the present author: 'Constructing a methodology for the interpretation of childhood age in classical Athenian iconography', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13:2 (1994), 81–96; 'Born old or never young? Femininity, childhood, and the goddesses of ancient Greece' in S. Blundell and M. Williamson (eds), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, 71–95; 'The social status and artistic presentation of adolescence in fifth century Athens' in J. Sofaer Derevenski (ed.), *Children and Material Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000, 39–50.
- 2 For example, C. Robert, 'Griechische Kinderspiele auf Vasen', *AZ* 37 (1879), 78–84; P. Girard, *L'Education athénienne. Au Ve siècle et au IVe siècle avant J.-C.*, Paris, Hachette, 1889; E.A. Gardner, 'Two fourth century children's heads', *JHS* 11 (1890), 100–8; A. Sambon, 'L'Enfant dans l'art antique', *Le Musée* 1 (1904), 54–64; K.J. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas: An Essay on the Practice and Theory of Ancient Greek Education from 600–300 BC*, London, 1907; F. Winter, 'Schulunterricht auf griechischen Vasenbildern', *Bonner Jahrbucher* 123 (1916), 275–85.
- 3 Note particularly A.E. Klein, *Child Life in Greek Art*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.
- 4 For example, L.R. van Hook, 'The exposure of infants at Athens', *TAPhA* 51 (1920), 134–45; H. Bolkestein, 'The exposure of children at Athens and the ἐγγυρίστριαι', *CPh* 17 (1922), 222–39; L. Deubner, 'Spiele und Spielzeug der Griechen', *Antike* 6 (1930), 162–77; A.E. Klein, 'Some Greek playthings', *TAPhA* 62 (1931), xxvii–xxviii; W.S. Hett, 'The games of the Greek boy', *G&R* 1 (1931), 24–9; A. Cameron, 'The exposure of children and Greek ethics', *CR* 46 (1932), 105–14.
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- 44 T. Leslie Shear reports in *Hesperia* 8 (1939), 239, the finding in 1938 in a well north-east of the Hephaisteion of the bones of 'between one hundred and two hundred new-born infants, and of more than eighty-five dogs'. In 1945, J.L. Angel conducted preliminary sorting and study of the bones, and in 'Skeletal material from Attica', *Hesperia* 14 (1945), 311–12 he reported his finding of about 175 infants and about 100 dogs, commenting that 'a statistical study of each will be of interest to anthropologist, mammalogist, or dog-breeder!' In 1995 the bone material finally received full sorting and analysis to reveal the presence of 450 infants and some 150 dogs: see L.M. Little, 'Babies in Well G5:3: Preliminary results and future analysis', *AJA* 103 (1999), 284; L.M. Snyder, 'The animal bones from Well G5:3: Domestic debris, industrial debris, and possible evidence for the sacrifice of domestic dogs in Late Hellenistic Athens', *AJA* 103 (1999), 284; S.I. Rotroff, 'The Artifacts from Well G5:3 and some conclusions concerning the deposit', *AJA* 103 (1999), 284–5.
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- 46 For adult female craftsmen see I. Kehrberg, 'The potter-painter's wife. Some additional thoughts on the Caputi Hydria', *Hephaistos* 41 (1982), 25–35. For juvenile apprentice craftsmen see Plato, *Republic* 5.467a. See also Attic red figure calyx krater in Caltagirone, Museo Regionale della Ceramica 961, ca 440 BC, Beazley Archive #4355; Attic red figure stemless cup in Berlin, Anti-

kensammlung F2542, mid fifth century BC, ARV² 803.60, *Para* 419, *Add*² 143. See also a fourth-century votive relief from the Athenian Agora dedicated by Dionysius the cobbler and his sons to the hero Kallistephanos and his sons, Athens, Agora Museum 1736: illustrated as Fig. 4.14 in this volume, p. 450, fig. 32. See also G. Cambiano, 'Becoming an adult' in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), trans. C. Lambert & T. Lavender Fagan, *The Greeks*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 89–91; D.R. Jordan, 'A personal letter found in the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 69 (2000), 91–103; M. Griffith, 'Public and private in early Greek institutions of education' in Y.L. Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Leiden, Boston & Köln: Brill, 2001, 29–35.

2 ATHENIAN DEFINITIONS OF CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD, AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF AGE

- 1 M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, London & Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, 1–12.
- 2 J.A. Smith & W.D. Ross (eds), *The Works of Aristotle*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1912.
- 3 T.J. McNiven, 'Behaving like a child: immature gestures in Athenian vase painting' in A. Cohen & J.B. Rutter (eds), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, *Hesperia* Supplement 41, Princeton, New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007, 85–99.
- 4 G.L. Ham, 'The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered: male maturation rites and the Peloponnesian Wars' in M.W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press 1999, 208. Ham, however, argues that the use of white paint for children is an age sign related to extreme youth, rather than also being indicative of gender as I would suggest.
- 5 M. Golden, 'Pais, "child" and "slave"', *AntCl* 54 (1985), 91–104.
- 6 N. Himmelmann, *Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei*, Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1971; U. Kästner, 'Bezeichnungen für Sklaven' in E.C. Welskopf (ed.), *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in den Sprachen der Welt* iii, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1981, 282–318.
- 7 E.B. Harrison, 'Greek sculptured coiffures and ritual haircuts' in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos & G.C. Nordquist (eds), *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, 26–29 June, 1986, Stockholm, Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1988, 247.
- 8 It is interesting to note that even in modern Greece it is not the celebration of the precise anniversary of the individual's birth date (or birthday) that is of primary importance, but rather the celebration of his/her name day, that is the annual festival of the Christian saint whose name (s)he shares and under whose protection (s)he lives his/her life.
- 9 Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 53.4. M. Christ, 'Conscription of hoplites in Classical Athens', *CQ* n.s. 51 (2001), 398–422, has argued that the introduction of conscription by age class should be dated to the period 386–366 BC. J. Davidson, 'Revolutions in human time: age-class in Athens and the Greekness of Greek revolutions' in S. Goldhill & R. Osborne (eds), *Rethinking Revolutions Through Ancient Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 38–41, argues that organisation of the citizen body into age classes long pre-dated the fourth century.
- 10 T. Vestergaard, M.H. Hansen, L. Rubinstein, L. Bjertrup & T.H. Nielsen, 'The age-structure of Athenian citizens commemorated in sepulchral inscriptions',

- Classica et Mediaevalia* 1992, 7–9. C.W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones, Introductory Volume*, Kilchberg: Akanthus, 1993, 24–5.
- 11 Plato, *Laws* I, trans. R.G. Bury, The Loeb Classical Library, London: Heinemann & New York, Putnam, 1926. M. Golden, ‘Demosthenes and the age of majority at Athens’, *Phoenix* 33 (1979), 25–38.
 - 12 J. Labarbe, ‘L’Age correspondant au sacrifice du kouřeion et données historiques du sixième discours d’Isée’, *Bulletin de l’Académie royale de Belgique: Classe des Lettres* 39 (1953), 358–94; S.G. Cole, ‘The social function of rituals of maturation: the koureion and the arkteia’, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 233–7; S.D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993, 161–78.
 - 13 Funerary stele of Dexileos, Kerameikos Museum P 1130, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.209.
 - 14 In this context it is interesting to compare more recent practice in Greece. Until the introduction in the early twentieth century of birth certificates, the first enrolment of a child’s existence took place in the ritual context when (s)he was registered by the Orthodox church as having been baptised. As baptism usually took place during the first year of the child’s life, the individual’s age in years could subsequently be calculated in later life. If, however, for some reason baptism took place after the child’s first year, the calculation of the individual’s age in later life could become a contentious issue. It is easy to imagine that the same situation might arise in ancient Athens if there was a delay in presenting the child to the *phratry* at the first Apatouria festival after its birth.
Golden’s hypothesis also largely explains the apparent inconsistency in the ancient written sources concerning the way in which Athenians counted age: exclusively (i.e. the method employed by contemporary Western society which counts only full years of life already completed) or inclusively (i.e. also including in the count the as yet incomplete year of life currently under way). For discussion see Golden, ‘Demosthenes and the age of majority at Athens’, 35–8; J.M. Carter, ‘Eighteen years old?’, *BICS* 14 (1967), 51–8; R. Sealey, ‘On coming of age in Athens’, *CR* n.s. 7 (1957), 195–7.
 - 15 For the Classical Athenian vocabulary for childhood and its division into stages see E. Cantarella, ‘Neaniskoi. Classi di età e passaggio di “status” nel diritto ateniese’, *MEFRA* 102.1 (1990), 37–51; Golden, *Children & Childhood*, 12–22; R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, London: Duckworth, 1990, 1–16; Davidson, ‘Revolutions in human time’, 45–9.
 - 16 For the classification of the first three years of life as the period of infancy, and the time required to acquire speech, see Plato *Laws* 791E–792A. For weaning by the beginning of the third year, see Soranus *Gyn.* 2.46. For acquisition of independent mobility within the first three years of life, see Plato *Laws* 789E.
 - 17 Ham, ‘The Choes and Anthesteria reconsidered’, 201–9.
 - 18 Xenophon, *Lac. Pol.* 2.1.
 - 19 On the age appropriate for the commencement of formal tuition see Aristotle *Politics* VII.1336, Plato *Laws* 794C, Ps. Plato *Axiochos* 361d.
 - 20 Note, however, that prior to the late sixth century BC we lack evidence for the existence of these private schools: see M. Griffith, “Public” and “private” in early Greek institutions of education’ in Y.L. Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001, 23–84. I discuss this matter further in [Chapter 4.4](#), and there suggest that prior to the late sixth century BC formal education was provided in the context of choral training.
 - 21 Aristotle, *History of Animals* 7.581a11–581b7 asserts that the onset of puberty usually occurs when the thirteenth year of life has been completed. T. Hopfner,

- Das Sexualleben der Griechen und Römer* I, 1938, 228–9; D.W. Amundsen & C.J. Diers, ‘The age of menarche in classical Greece and Rome’, *Human Biology* 41 (1969), 125–32; E. Eyben, ‘Antiquity’s view of puberty’, *Latomus* 31 (1972), 677–97; Garland, *Greek Way of Life* 167–8; Golden, *Children and Childhood* 28 & n. 20.
- 22 Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 56.7.
- 23 On age at marriage see Golden, *Children and Childhood* 98 n. 82; Garland, *The Greek Way of Life* 210–13; W. Ingalls, ‘PAIDIA NEAN MALISTA: When did Athenian girls really marry?’, *Mouseion* 1 (2001), 17–29.
- 24 For the educative aspect of the paederastic relationship, see Griffith, ‘“Public” and “private” in early Greek education’, 61–6.
- 25 On the presentation to the *phratry* of the adolescent male youth see Labarbe, ‘L’Age correspondant au sacrifice du koureion’, 358–94; Cole, ‘The social function of rituals of maturation: the koureion and the arkteia’, 233–44; Garland, *The Greek Way of Life* 179–80; Golden, *Children and Childhood* 26–9 and n. 16.
- 26 Aeschines 2.167; Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–5.
- 27 P. Vidal-Naquet, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak, *The Black Hunter*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, 106–28.
- 28 Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–5.
- 29 On the existence of the *ephebeia* in the fifth century see A. Brenot, *Recherches sur l’Ephébie Attique et en Particulier sur la Date de l’Institution*, Paris: Champion, 1920; P. Roussel, ‘Review of Brenot 1920’, *REG* 34 (1921), 459–60; C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l’Ephébie Attique des Origines à 31 Avant J.C.*, Paris: Ecole France Athènes Travaux et Memoires 13 (1962); O.W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century BC*, *Mnemosyne* Suppl. 14 (1971), Leiden, 123–38; P. Vidal-Naquet, ‘The black hunter and the origins of the Athenian ephebeia’ in R.L. Gordon (ed.), *Myth, Religion and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 147–62; id., ‘Recipes for Greek adolescence’ in Gordon, *Myth, Religion and Society*, 163–85; Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 183–7; A. Schnapp, *Le chasseur et la cité*, Paris: A. Michel, 1997, 133–5.
- 30 Garland, *Greek Way of Life*, 290.
- 31 This matter is further discussed by Ingalls, ‘PAIDIA NEAN MALISTA: When did Athenian girls really marry?’.
- 32 For a more detailed discussion of this subject see this volume [Chapter 4.5](#).
- 33 The representation on Attic grave stelai of social, rather than chronological, age is stressed by K. Stears, ‘Dead women’s society: constructing female gender in Classical Athenian funerary sculpture’ in N. Spencer (ed.), *Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology*, London & New York: Routledge, 1995, 118–23. Stears identifies three pre-adult iconographical age categories for females: babies, little girls and unmarried teenagers. J.B. Grossman, ‘Forever young: an investigation of the depictions of children on Classical Attic funerary monuments’ in Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood* 309–52, also distinguishes children according to the same three iconographical age categories. By contrast, C. Dallas, ‘The Significance of Costume on Classical Attic Grave Stelai’ (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1987) identifies six iconographical age categories for female children and maidens and six categories for males between the ages of three and fifteen.
- 34 L.A. Beaumont, ‘Constructing a methodology for the interpretation of childhood age in Classical Athenian iconography’, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13:2 (1994), 81–96.
- 35 L.J. Roccas, ‘The kanephoros and her festival mantle in Greek art’, *AJA* 99

- (1995), 641–66; id., ‘Back-mantle and peplos: the special costume of Greek maidens in fourth century funerary and votive reliefs’, *Hesperia* 69 (2000), 235–65; G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece*, Chicago & London, pp. 115–16; University of Chicago Press, 2002; McNiven, ‘Behaving like a child’, 85–99.
- 36 C.L. Lawton, ‘Children in Classical Attic votive reliefs’ in Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood* 41–60, distinguishes four iconographical age categories: babies, toddlers, prepubescent children, postpubescent females (*parthenoi*) and postpubescent males (*ephebes*). S. Houby-Nielsen, “Burial language” in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos’, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1 (1995), 129–91.
- 37 R. Vollkommer, ‘Mythological children in Archaic art: on the problem of age differentiation for small children’ in G.R. Tsetskhladze, A.J.N.W. Prag & A.M. Snodgrass (eds), *Periplus. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2000, 371–82.
- 38 A clear example of small size used as an indicator of servile status may be found on the fourth-century funerary stele of Demainete: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.63, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.909. Here the girl Demainete, who is identifiable as a prepubescent girl by her high-belted *chiton* with shoulder straps, is accompanied by a diminutive figure wearing a long-sleeved *chiton*, the typical garb of a female servant.
- A good example of the mortal–divine differential expressed by the contrasting scale of representation can be seen in the image decorating a late fourth-century votive relief from Epidauros in which the infant Asklepieios dwarfs the votary: Athens National Archaeological Museum 1424; A. Cohen, ‘Gendering the age gap: boys, girls and abduction in ancient Greek art’ in Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood*, 262 fig. 13.5.
- 39 See, for example, red figure *hydria*, London, British Museum E172, Pig Painter, ca 475–450 BC, ARV²565.42, *Add*²260.
- 40 For a discussion of the temporal change from the Athenian depiction of children as miniature adults to the development of a distinct body ideal for the representation of the infant and young child see L.A. Beaumont, ‘The changing face of childhood’ in J. Neils & J.H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003, 59–83.
- 41 On the inconsistency in the iconographical relationship between age and specific proportions of head size to body see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls’ Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*, Athens: Kardamitsa, 1988, 37.
- 42 Attic black figure plaque, Paris, Louvre MNB905, Sappho Painter, ca 500–490 BC. Beazley Archive #463.
- 43 Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls’ Transitions* 33–7.
- 44 Aristotle, *History of Animals* VII, 1, 582a 32–3. Aristotle comments that it is also at age twenty-one that the male begins to produce fertile sperm.
- 45 For youths with incipient facial hair courting younger boys see, for example: Attic red figure *kylix*, Berlin Antikensammlung & Schloss Charlottenburg F2279, Peithinos, from Vulci, ca 500 BC, Beazley Archive #200977, Fig. 2.2, this volume; Attic red figure *kylix*, New York, Sotheby *The Nelson Bunker Hunt & William Herbert Hunt Collections* 19.6.1990, no. 7, Onesimos (Ohly-Dumm), Ashby Painter (Guy), Proto-Panaitian Group (von Bothmer), ca 510–500 BC, Beazley Archive #8839.
- For youths with incipient facial hair arming themselves see, for example, Attic white ground *lekythos*, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AE. 770,

Douris, ca 490 BC, Beazley Archive #16229; Attic red figure kylix, Rome, Vatican Museum 16583, Brygos Painter, from Vulci, first quarter of the fifth century BC, Beazley Archive #203946.

For youths with incipient facial hair in *komos* scenes see, for example, Attic red figure neck *amphora*, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 5.80.AE.327, Berlin Painter, ca 480 BC, Beazley Archive #201837.

- 46 In two of my earlier publications I had expressed the opinion that ‘bum fluff’ or incipient facial hair depicted on the cheeks of youths in Athenian figured art was indicative of their status as adolescent *paides*, situated in the life stage sandwiched between puberty and the attainment of adult manhood: Beaumont, ‘Constructing a methodology for the interpretation of childhood age in classical Athenian iconography’; L.A. Beaumont, ‘The social status and artistic presentation of “adolescence” in fifth-century Athens’ in J. Sofaer Derevenski, *Children and Material Culture*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000, 39–50. Since then, my further research into the pictorial context of age indicators in Athenian iconography has persuaded me that incipient facial hair is a feature that signals more particularly the earliest stage of manhood marked by the attainment of citizen status in the eighteenth year of life and extending through the *ephebeia* into the early twenties, when full physical maturation was realised by the growth of full facial hair. It is significant in this context that some evidence exists for painted sideburns on a number of Archaic stone *kouroi*: see Ferrari, *Figures of Speech* 115–16, with further references.
- 47 For discussion of the ages of *paides*, *ageneioi* and *andres* in athletic competition see N.B. Crowther, ‘The age-category of boys at Olympia’, *Phoenix* 42 (1988), 304–8; P. Frisch, ‘Die Klassifikation der *παῖδες* bei den griechischen Agonen’, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 1179–85; M. Golden, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 104–12; I.L. Pfeijffer, ‘Athletic age categories in victory odes’, *Nikephoros* 11 (1998), 21–38.
- 48 For male youths with pubic hair see, for example, Attic red figure calyx *krater* in Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 4196, Kleophrades Painter, ca 495 BC, ARV²185.35, 1632, *Para* 340, *Add*²187. Note that the features of pubic hair and incipient facial hair are here combined in the same figure.
- For pubic hair on sculpted *kouroi*, see B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 2nd edn, Chicago: Ares, 1993, 99, 110.
- 49 D.D. Leitao, ‘Adolescent hair-growing and hair-cutting rituals in ancient Greece: a sociological approach’ in D.B. Dodd & C.A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives*, London & New York: Routledge, 2003, 118.
- See also C. Bromberger, ‘Hair: From the West to the Middle East through the Mediterranean’, *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (2008), 379–99.
- 50 Dedications by male youths of hair to Apollo at Delphi: Theophrastos *Characters* 21, Plutarch *Theseus* 5.1–2. Dedication by *ephebes* of hair to Herakles: Athenaeus 494–5, Hesychius sv ‘oinistêria’.
- 51 Labarbe, ‘L’Age correspondant au sacrifice du *κούρειον*’, 358–94; Cole, ‘The social function of rituals of maturation: the koureion and the arkteia’, 233–44.
- 52 Harrison, ‘Greek sculptured coiffures and ritual haircuts’, 247–54. See also G. van Hoorn, *De vita atque cultu puerorum monumentis antiquis explanato*, Amsterdam: de Bussy, 1909, 38–51; A. Klein, *Child Life in Greek Art*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, 36; Leitao, ‘Adolescent hair-growing and hair-cutting rituals’, 118–20.

There is also a growing body of work on age-related hairstyles as portrayed on youthful figures in Minoan art: N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera*.

Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society, Athens, 1984, 35–7, 62–5; R. Koehl, ‘The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan rite of passage’, *JHS* 106 (1986), 99–110; E. Davis, ‘Youth and age in the Thera frescoes’, *AJA* 90 (1986), 399–402; C. Doumas, ‘Age and gender in the Thera wall paintings’ in S. Sherratt (ed.), *The Wall Paintings of Thera*, Vol. II, Piraeus, 2000, 971–80; J. Rutter, ‘Children in Aegean Prehistory’ in J. Neils & J.H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, 44–5.

- 53 Kritios Boy, ca 485 BC, Athens, Akropolis Museum 698: H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, London, Cresset, 1936, pls. 111–12.
- 54 Blond Boy head, ca 485 BC, Athens, Akropolis Museum 689: Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pls. 114–15.
- 55 Votive relief of youth crowning himself from the Sanctuary of Athena at Sounion, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3344, ca 470 BC: B.S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970, 50, fig. 70.

It should also be noted that in the fourth century a special lock of hair sometimes appears centrally above the forehead of sculpted figures of girls, as well as of boys: see, for example, marble figure of a girl from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, ca 310 BC, C. Vorster, *Griechische Kinderstatuen*, Cologne, 1983, Cat. 174.

- 56 See, however, van Hoorn, *De vita atque cultu puerorum*, 38–51.
- 57 For further discussion, and illustration, of this hairstyle see: S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman. An Iconographic Handbook*, London & New York: Routledge, 2002, 27; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, ‘La coiffure des jeunes dames d’Athènes au second quart du 5 siècle av. J.-C.’ In H.A.G. Brijder, A.A. Drukker & C.W. Neeft (eds), *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery Presented to J.M. Hemelrijk*, Amsterdam: Allard Pierson, 1986, 135–40.
- 58 Pollux *Onomast.* 3.38; *Anth. Pal.* 6.276, 277.
- 59 See, for example, the mourning women in the *prothesis* scene on the neck of a red figure *loutrophoros* by the Kleophrades Painter: Paris, Louvre CA453, ca 480 BC, ARV² 184.22, 1632, *Para* 340, *Add*² 187.
- 60 See, for example, the servant girl with short hair on a red figure *pelike* by the Syriskos Painter, ca 480 BC, Berlin Staatliche Museen 4496, ARV262.30, *Add* 205.
- 61 See this volume Ch. 3.2.
- 62 See this volume Ch. 3.2.

It should, however, be noted that prior to the late fifth century BC we do not find the high-girdled costume in use for prepubescent girls: instead, they usually wear either the waist-girdled *chiton* or *peplos* with or without *himation*.

- 63 For the ancient literary sources for the pre-nuptial offering of the girdle to Artemis and its unloosing at marriage see M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, London & New York: Routledge, 2002, 216 and n. 32–3. See also J.H. Oakley & R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, 14–15; S. Blundell, ‘Clutching at clothes’ in L. Llewellyn-Jones & S. Blundell (eds), *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, London: Duckworth, 2002, 156–8.
- 64 Roccas, ‘Back-mantle and peplos’ 235–65; id., ‘The Kanephoros and her festival mantle’, 641–66.
- 65 On the dress of the *ephebes* see Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 42. For the representation of *ephebes* on votive reliefs see Lawton, ‘Children in Classical Attic votive reliefs’, 58 & n. 69. See further on the Athenian *ephebeia*, the references cited in n. 29 above.

- 66 McNiven, 'Behaving like a child', 85–99.
- 67 The following funerary stelai depict a boy or girl shaking hands with a man or woman: stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1116, ca 320 BC, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.441a; stele of Lamynthios, Euboulides and Ada, Athens National Archaeological Museum 906, ca 320 BC, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.423; stele, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 46, ca 380 BC, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.687; stele of Platon and Demokrates, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 26, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.759; stele of Demetrios and Hedyle, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 2537, late fourth century BC, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.843; stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 777, ca 400 BC, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.689. On the stele of Nikandros, a boy and girl perform the *dexiosis* together: Athens National Archaeological Museum 877, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.910. (See Fig. 2.7b, this volume)
- For further discussion of children performing the handshake gesture on Athenian funerary stelai, see this volume Chapter 4.6.
- 68 Rocco, 'Back-mantle and peplos', 242; id., 'The Kanephoros and her festival mantle', 661.
- 69 Votive relief from Eleusis, Athens National Archaeological Museum 126, ca 440 BC: J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Classical Period*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1991, fig. 144.
- 70 See, for example, stele of Aristion, Athens National Archaeological Museum 4487, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.855; stele of Stephanos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2578, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.214.
- 71 On amulets see this volume Chapter 3.2.
- 72 On the representation of children with dogs see this volume Chapter 3.3, 69–84.
- For children with birds see this volume Chapter 4.6, 185–204.
- 73 On children at play see this volume Chapter 4.3, 128–34.
- 74 On the *amax* see this volume Chapter 3.3, 69–84.
- 75 On boys and schoolroom paraphernalia see this volume Chapter 4.4, 134–46.
- 76 On swaddling see this volume Chapter 3.2, 50–2.
- 77 For further discussion of the development of this 'toddler' iconography, see this volume Chapter 3.3, 69–84. See also Lawton, 'Children in classical Attic votive reliefs', 45–50.
- 78 Cantarella 'Neaniskoi', 37–51; Davidson 'Revolutions in human time', 46–7.
- 79 Davidson, 'Revolutions in human time' 56–7 and fig. 2, has deservedly called attention to the representation of Athenian male age stages on a cup painted by the Telephos Painter ca 470 BC, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts 95.28, ARV²482.32, 816.1. Here five male age stages are depicted: *pais*, *meirakion/neaniskos/ephebe*, *neos* (young adult male in his third decade of life), *presbutes* (mature male over thirty), and *geron* (old man). Their age groups are distinguished according to their facial hair, bodily physique, and clothing. The *pais* has no facial hair, is wrapped tightly in a *himation*, and is accompanied by an old *paidogogos*, whose deformed physique indicates his low social status. The youth of *ephebic* age is also devoid of facial hair, but contrasts with the *pais* by his lack of an accompanying *paidogogos* and his *himation* worn in a looser fashion to reveal his right arm and part of his well-muscle torso. The *neos*, standing beside a tree, displays the same physique and attire, but sports a full short beard. The three *presbutai*, though clothed in the same fashion, wear longer beards and display noticeably sagging chest muscles. A fourth *presbutes* with well-developed

beard is dressed in full armour. The *geron* stage is represented by two men whose longer and shaggier beards indicate their advanced age, as also the addition of a *chiton* beneath their *himation* and a soft cap worn atop the head.

- 80 On this difficulty see further Beaumont, 'The social status and artistic presentation of "adolescence" in fifth century Athens'.
- 81 S. Houby-Nielsen, "'Burial language" in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos', *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1 (1995), 129–91.

3 BIRTH AND INFANCY

- 1 See, for example, P. Leach, *Your Baby and Child*, London: Penguin, 1997.
- 2 E.D. Phillips, *Greek Medicine*, Southampton: Thames & Hudson, 1973, fig. 3 illustrates what is said to be a fifth-century relief that presents a graphic depiction of a woman in childbirth. This image is also reproduced in E.C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens*, New York: Harper & Row, 1985. However, no information is given concerning the present whereabouts of the relief and I have been unable to locate any further references to the piece in order to confirm its authenticity.
- 3 Five stone relief-carved funerary *lekythoi* and four figured funerary stelai show the subject. *Lekythoi*: Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 226a, C.W Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Kilchberg: Akanthus, 1993, 2.917; Athens National Archaeological Museum 1077, Clairmont 3.282 (Pheidestrata and Mnesgora); Paris Louvre 3115 (MND 726), Clairmont 3.375 (Killaron); Athens National Archaeological Museum 1055, Clairmont 3.463a (Theophante); Peiraeus Archaeological Museum, G. Steinhauer, *The Archaeological Museum of Piraeus*, Athens: Latsis Group, 2001, fig. 431. Stelai: Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 21, Clairmont 2.457 (Malthake); Paris Louvre 799, Clairmont 3.340; Athens, Kerameikos Museum P290, I 174, Clairmont 3.442 (Nikomeinea and Stephane); Athens National Archaeological Museum 749, Clairmont 4.470 (Plangon and Tolmides). As discussed by N. Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, 121–34, the scene type was first connected with birthing by P. Wolters on the basis of references in the ancient literary sources to the loosening of hair and clothing for childbirth: P. Wolters and C. Friederichs, *Die Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke in historischen Folge erklärt*, Berlin: W. Spemann, 1885. See also U. Vedder, 'Frauentod-Kriegertod im Spiegel der attischen Grabkunst den 4 Jhr. V. Chr.', *MDAI (A)* 103 (1988), 161–91. A. Stewart and C. Gray, 'Confronting the Other: childbirth, aging and death on an Attic tombstone at Harvard' in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Leiden: Brill, 2000, 248–74, also discuss a further stele in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1905, 8, where a birthing scene was re-cut in antiquity to transform it into a more canonical domestic farewell scene.
- 4 Votive stele, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.92. Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood*, pl. 1.
- 5 E. Mitropoulou, *Corpus I: Attic Votive Reliefs of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC*, Athens: Pyli Editions, 1977.
- 6 Stele of Malthake, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 21, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.457. See also Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood* 121–34. The stele is inscribed: 'Malthake: Magadidos, Chreste'. Clairmont observes that the name 'Magadis' is foreign and that 'Chreste', a term usually used of slaves or sometimes of metics, would be appropriate for a midwife.

He therefore suggests that the name Malthake applies not to the labouring woman, but to her attendant. However, since grave memorials were sometimes erected for metics and freed slaves (see 'Nurture' section of this chapter for discussion of wet nurses), I see no problem in identifying the labouring woman as Malthake, who is commemorated by her family according to the same iconographic schema used to honour those women of Athenian citizen families who died in childbirth.

- 7 Stele of the midwife Phanostrate, Athens National Archaeological Museum 993, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.890; A. Kosmopoulou, 'Working women: Female professionals on Classical Attic gravestones', *BSA* 96 (2001), 318 and fig. 5.
- 8 For example Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones, Introductory Volume* 91 expresses the opinion that the presence of a swaddled child on the grave stele of a deceased woman indicates that the mother died after a successful delivery.
- 9 For analysis of superhuman birth in Attic figured pottery see L.A. Beaumont, 'Born old or never young? Femininity, childhood and the goddesses of ancient Greece' in S. Blundell & M. Williamson (eds), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, London & New York: Routledge, 1998, 71–95; J. Boardman, 'Unnatural conception and birth in Greek mythology' in V. Dasen (ed.), *Naissance et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité*, Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004, 103–12.
- 10 Attic red figure *pyxis*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1635, from Eretria, ca 340–330 BC, Beazley Archive #2090.
- 11 S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman. An Iconographic Handbook*, London and New York: Routledge, 2002, 14.
- 12 In addition to Eileithyia and Artemis, deities of childbirth worshipped in Attica included Hestia, Kephissos, Pythian Apollo, Leto, Achelöos, Kallirhoe, the nymphs and Rapso. See N.D. Papahatzis, 'Deities of childbirth and child-rearing', *ADelt* 33 (1978), 1–23; R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Life. From Conception to Old Age*, London: Duckworth, 1990, 66–8. On Eileithyia see S. Pingiatoglou, *Eileithyia*, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 1981. Kalligeneia, probably an epithet of Demeter, was invoked on the last day of the Thesmophoria festival, probably to seek divine blessing for the good birth of healthy children: see Garland *The Greek Way of Life*, 68. For Demeter see also S. Ducaté-Paarman, 'La place de l'image de la courotrophe dans le répertoire des offrandes consacrées à Déméter. Le cas de la Sicile et de la Grande Grèce' in C.C. Mattusch, A. A. Donohue & A. Brauer (eds), *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology Boston, August 23–26, 2003*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006, 614–16.
- 13 Pingiatoglou *Eileithyia*, 42–4.
- 14 A. Philadelphus, 'Le sanctuaire d'Artémis Kallisté et l'ancienne rue de l'Académie', *BCH* 51 (1927), 155–63, suggests that Artemis Kalliste also watched over childbirth.
- 15 On deities of childbirth, their sanctuaries and votives see further S. Wise, 'Child-birth Votives and Rituals in Ancient Greece', PhD thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2007.
- 16 Classical Greek literary references to swaddling: Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* VII.4.584b3–5; Plato, *Laws* 7.789e; Aischylos, *Libation Bearers* 753–7.
- 17 Athenian red figure neck *amphora*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art L.1982.27.8 (lent by Trade Arts Investment Inc.), Eucharides Painter, ca 490–480 BC. Lewis *The Athenian Woman* n. 20 to p. 19 asserts that a white ground *lekythos* in Berlin, F2444, also depicts a swaddled infant. However, swaddling

bands are not clearly depicted and to my eye it appears rather that the infant is bundled beneath a blanket.

- 18 Late fourth-century BC, terracotta figurine of a swaddled baby: L. Palaiokrassa, *To iero tis Artemidos Mounichias*, Athens: Athens Archaeological Society, 1991, pl. 16, E86.
- 19 Attic black figure plaque, Athens Akropolis Museum, ca 560 BC, B. Graef & E. Langlotz, *Die Attischen Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1925, 246 no. 2525, pl. 104; Attic black figure Nikosthenic *pyxis*, Athens National Archaeological Museum, Vlastou-Serpieri Collection, late sixth or early fifth century BC, Beazley Archive #2563; Attic white ground *lekythos*, Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 202, Beazley Archive #19472. For naked infant girls on *choes*, see [Chapter 3.3](#).
- 20 Examples of partially and fully wrapped babes in arms depicted on relief-carved funerary stelai and votive plaques include: stele of Philonoe, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3790, ca 370–360 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.780; stele of Ampharete, Athens Kerameikos Museum P695, late fifth century BC, Clairmont 1.660. Examples of partially and fully naked seated or crawling infant boys depicted on funerary stelai include: stele of Mnesagora and Nikochares, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3845, late fifth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.610; stele of male infant, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1040, second half of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.868. Examples of clothed infant girls on grave stelai who crouch at the feet of their mother include: stele of Mynnina, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu 71.AA.121, ca 370 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.718; stele of Timarete, London, British Museum 1947.7–14.1, last quarter of the fifth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.867.
- 21 Lewis *The Athenian Woman* 17–19.
- 22 S. Houby-Nielsen, “Burial language” in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos’, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens I* (1995), 137–8 and table 7.
- 23 Prior to the Hellenistic period I know of only one image of a child nursing at its mother’s breast in Attic vase painting: *Kalpis*, Berlin, Charlottenburg F2395, from Attica, ca 440–430 BC, *LIMC I*, Amphiaraios 27, pl. 559. This, however, is no mortal child, but Alkmaion suckling from his mother Eriphyle as Amphiaraios looks on. Here, then, the image of the *oikos* united in a calm and intimate domestic setting and the depiction of the intimate bond between mother and son contrast acutely with the viewer’s knowledge of the betrayal of her husband soon to be perpetrated by Eriphyle and the consequent future revenge that will be enacted against her by Alkmaion. Mythological children may also be suckled by animals in Athenian art: see, for example, the image of infant Hippothoon suckled by a mare on a fragmentary *oinochoe* (*chous*), Tübingen University S/10 1610, ca 340 BC, *LIMC I*, Alope 1, pl. 432; V, Hippothoon 1, pl. 329. Greek mythology several times relates the story of an abandoned child, such as Hippothoon, discovered and suckled by an animal: Telephos, for example, is suckled by a deer and Zeus by a goat. Perhaps in a culture where the exposure of some newborn mortal children was practised, such myths of child-nurturing animals helped counter the horror probably felt at the thought of the more likely grisly fate of the defenceless infant left to the mercy of wild animals. C.J. Kraemer, ‘Animal-nourished children’, *Classical Weekly* 21 (1928), 189–90; E.S. McCartney, ‘Greek and Roman lore of animal-nourished infants’, *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* 4 (1924).
- 24 L. Bonfante, ‘Nursing mothers in Classical art’ in A.O. Koloski-Ostrow and C.L.

- Lyons (eds), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, London & New York: Routledge, 1997, 174–96. The suckling motif also appears on Thessalian grave stelai: see B.S. Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Madison, Wis., University of Wisconsin Press, 1997, 171 & 190 n. 52.
- 25 See, for example, the terracotta group of seated woman cradling suckling infant from the *Kourotropheion* on the Athenian Akropolis: Akropolis Museum 1443, fourth century BC, T. Hadzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*, Leiden, Brill, 1978, no. 251, fig. 22. Also the fragmentary terracotta group of woman suckling infant from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia MII 5437, fourth century BC, Palaiokrassa *To iero tis Artemidos Mounichias*, pl. 46a, Κπ10.
- 26 For the application of stable isotope analysis to ancient populations see M.R. Schurr, 'Using stable nitrogen-isotopes to study weaning behaviour in past populations', *World Archaeology* 30 (1998), 327–42; L.E. Wright & H.P. Schwarcz, 'Stable carbon and oxygen isotopes in human tooth enamel: identifying breastfeeding and weaning in prehistory', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 106 (1998), 1–18; M.P. Richards, S. Mays & B.T. Fuller, 'Stable nitrogen and carbon values of bone and teeth reflect weaning age at the medieval Wharram Percy site, Yorkshire, UK', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 119 (2002), 205–10; M.E. Lewis, *The Bioarchaeology of Children*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 115–19.
- 27 On the ancient Greek feeding bottle see: S. Collin-Bouffier, 'Des vases pour les enfants' in M.-C. Villanueva Puig *et al.* (eds), *Céramique et Peinture Grecques: Modes d'emploi. Actes du colloque international. Ecole du Louvre 26–28 avril 1995*, Paris, La Documentation française, 1999, 91–6; F. Blondé & L. Villard, 'Sur quelques vases présents dans la *Collection Hippocratique*: confrontation des données littéraires et archéologiques', *BCH* 116 (1992), 92–117; C.S. Bartsoas, 'Ancient Greek feeding bottles', *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 45 (1978), 297–8; B.A. Sparkes & L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the Sixth, Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC. Agora XII*, Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1970, 161–2; J.H.C. Kern, 'An Attic feeding bottle of the fourth century BC, in Leyden', *Mnemosyne* 10 (1957), 16–21.
- 28 Boiotian terracotta figurine of woman feeding child with *bombylios*: Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire A2003–11/dt, first half of the fifth century BC, D. Gourevitch, 'Femme nourrissant son enfant au biberon', *AntK* 35 (1992), 78–81. Attic red figure feeder decorated with crawling and sitting infant boys: Athens National Archaeological Museum 18554, late fifth century BC. I am grateful to Professor Brian Sparkes for bringing this red figure feeder to my attention some years ago.
- 29 For a discussion of the likely weaning diet see P.T. Mahler, 'New information on nutrition in ancient Greece', *Klio* 62 (1980), 317–19. For traces of honey, mixed notably with a fermented product, in a Mycenaean feeder from Midea, see Y. Tzedakis & H. Martlew, *Minoans and Mycenaeans. Flavours of Their Time*, Athens: Kapon Editions, 1999, no. 158.
- 30 These stelai are listed by S. Karouzou, 'Epitymbia stele tithes sto ethniko mouseio', *Ellenika* 15, *Timetikos Sokratous B. Kougea* (1957), 311–23; M.R. Lefkowitz & M.B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: a Sourcebook in Translation*, 2nd edn, London, Duckworth, 1992, 221; H. Schulze, *Ammen und Pädagogen: Sklavinnen und Sklaven als Erzieher in der antiken Kunst und Gesellschaft*, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern, 1998, 105–6; Kosmopoulou,

- 'Working women', 281–319. See further on wet and dry nurses H. Rühfel, 'Ammen und kinderfrauen im klassischen Athen', *Antike Welt* 19 (1988), 43–57.
- 31 Funerary stele of Malicha from Kythera, Athens Epigraphical Museum 8844, C.W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram*, Mainz, von Zabern, 1970, 85–6, pl.10.18. Stele of the wet nurse Melitta, London, British Museum 1909,0221.1, Clairmont 95–7, pl. 12.25.
 - 32 For old Thracian nurses participating at the *prothesis* of their grown and now deceased charge, see K. Zimmermann, 'Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf griechischen Vasenbildern', *Jdl* 95 (1980), 163–96. Further on Thracian women in Athens and the iconography of Thracians in Athenian art see Rühfel, 'Ammen und Kinderfrauen', 45–7; D. Tsiafakis, 'The allure and repulsion of Thracians in the art of Classical Athens' in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, 364–89. Pliny *NH* XXXV.70 reports that the fourth-century wall painter Parrhasios painted a Thracian nurse with her infant charge.
 - 33 On the inspiration and development of the terracotta nurse with infant see D.B. Thompson, 'The origin of Tanagras', *AJA* 70 (1966), 56–8. See also S. Pfisterer-Haas, *Darstellungen alter Frauen in der griechischen Kunst*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1989, 36–46.
 - 34 For nurses with infants on funerary *lekythoi* see Schulze, *Ammen und Pädogen* 29–32. For nurses with infants in votive relief sculpture see C.L. Lawton, 'Children in Classical Attic votive reliefs' in A. Cohen & J.B. Rutter (eds), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*. *Hesperia* Supplement 41, Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007, 43–5.
 - 35 See, for example, the nurse dressed in long-sleeved belted tunic worn over *chiton* who receives an infant from its mother on an Attic red figure *hydria* at Harvard University, Sackler Art Museum 1960.342, Circle of Polygnotos, from Vari, ca 435 BC, ARV² 617.13. See also the unnamed nurse figure holding a tightly wrapped baby on a fourth-century grave stele inscribed with the names of Bako, Sokrates and Aristonike: Paris, Louvre MA3113, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 4.910. For a discussion of the iconography of attendant figures in Athenian art see J.H. Oakley, 'Some "Other" members of the Athenian household and their mistresses in fifth-century Athenian art' in Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal*, 227–47.
 - 36 For a discussion of young children as identifier of the *oikos* on Athenian figured pottery see R.F. Sutton Jnr, 'Family portraits: recognizing the *oikos* on Attic red-figure pottery' in A.P. Chapin (ed.), *ΧΑΡΙΣ. Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004, 327–50.
 - 37 An example of infants depicted in the context of a black figure departure of warrior scene can be found on a neck *amphora* in Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum 61.89, Painter of Munich 1410, ca 530–520 BC, *Para* 135.1 Bis, *Add*² 84. Two examples of black figure domestic scenes which include infants are cited in n. 19 above. An infant held aloft by a woman is depicted in a black figure fountain house scene by the AD Painter: *hydria*, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H12, ABV 334.3, *Add*² 91.
 - 38 Red figure scenes of the departure of a warrior which incorporate the infant figure include that on an *amphora* of Panathenaic shape, London, British Museum E282, Boreas Painter, from Vulci, ca 460–450 BC, ARV² 538.39, *Add*² 255. An unusual red figure departure for battle scene, notable for its depiction of a mounted Persian bidding farewell to a woman who holds out an infant to him, is found on a *pelike* from Theangela (near Bodrum): Istanbul Archaeological

- Museum 7501, beginning of the fourth century BC, Beazley Archive #446. I am grateful to Professor Margaret Miller for drawing my attention to this vase.
- 39 The red figure images are found on: stemless cup, Brussels, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire A890, from Athens, Sotades Painter, ca 460 BC, ARV² 771.1, *Add²* 287; *lekythos*, Berlin Antikensammlung 2209, ca 460 BC, ARV² 1587.2; *chous*, London, British Museum 1910.6–15.4, ca 440–430 BC.
 - 40 Potty high chair excavated from a well on the slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs near the Athenian Agora, Athens Agora Museum P18010, ca 575–560 BC. For publication of this and several other excavated fragmentary ceramic potty high chairs and the proposal that the ancient name of this piece of nursery furniture was *lasanon*, see K.M. Lynch & J.K. Papadopoulos, ‘Sella Cacatoria: a study of the potty in Archaic and Classical Athens’, *Hesperia* 75 (2006), 1–32.
 - 41 For images of husband/father depicted with wife and infant in the *oikos* setting see, for example: black figure Nikosthenic *pyxis* cited in n. 19; red figure *pyxis*, Athens National Archaeological Museum TE1623, from Athens, Leningrad Painter, ca 460 BC, *Para* 391.88 bis; red figure *hydria* cited in n. 35; red figure *lebes gamikos*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1250, from Athens, Manner of the Naples Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1102.5. A naked infant crawls between a man and woman on a red figure *pelike* in London: British Museum E396, Manner of the Washing Painter, ARV² 1134.6.
 - 42 L.A. Beaumont, ‘Mythological childhood: a male preserve?’ *BSA* 90 (1995), 339–61. The one exception, a mortal child lifted by his father onto a swing, depicted on a red figure *chous*, occurs in the context of a ritual celebration: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Vlasto Collection, Eretria Painter, ca 425 BC, ARV² 1249.14. For further discussion of this image see ‘Cult and Ritual’ below.
 - 43 B.S. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens: Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, 90. See also V. French, ‘Sons and mothers’, *Helios* 4 (1976), 54–6; id., ‘Aristophanes’ doting dads: adult male knowledge of young children’ in R. Mellor & L. Tritle (eds), *Text and Tradition. Studies in Greek History and Historiography in Honor of Mortimer Chambers*, Claremont, Cal.: Regina Books, 1999, 163–81.
 - 44 Funerary stele of Autosophos, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 17, from Peiraeus, ca 400–390 BC: Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.715. Funerary stele of Eupolemos and Demetrios, Athens National Archaeological Museum 4832, from Peiraeus, fourth century BC: Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.829. Fragmentary votive relief, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3304, from the Asklepion in Peiraeus, fourth century BC: A. Ajootian, ‘Male *kourotrophoi*’ in Mattusch, Donohue & Brauer (eds), *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, 617–20.
 - 45 It should, however, be noted that the majority of our evidence for the apparent daily pastimes of infants is made up of the red figure scenes decorating the *chous* shape. Given the ritual context of their iconography and use, we should then use them circumspectly as direct evidence for daily pastimes. On this matter see further discussion of the iconography of *choes* in the section of this chapter on ‘Cult and Ritual’.
 - 46 Aristotle’s *Politics* VIII.6.1340b, trans. B. Jowett, New York, Random House, 1943.
 - 47 Funerary stele, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1040, second half of the fourth century BC: Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.868. Funerary stele, Athens, whereabouts unknown, earlier in the Karnali House (corner of Aiolos and Lykourgos Streets), second half of the fourth century BC: Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.869.

- 48 Houby-Nielsen 'Burial language', 179–84.
- 49 S.I. Johnston, 'Defining the dreadful: remarks on the Greek child-killing demon' in M. Meyer & P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, London & New York: Brill, 1995, 361–87.
- 50 For the terminology, and a detailed discussion, of amulets see L. Deubner, 'Charms and amulets' in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* III, Edinburgh: Clark, 1910, 433–9.
- 51 While the practice of draping an infant's torso with an amulet cord is not familiar today, modern practice in Greece and the wider Mediterranean is to pin protective amulets to the infant's clothing: these may take a variety of shapes and forms, though the apotropaic eye is most common. S. Papaspyridi Karouzou in her article 'Choes' published in *AJA* 50 (1946), 128–30, notes that a number of the children depicted on the *choes* wear not only amulets but also cords or threads around wrist and ankle, and compares this to a rural tradition still current in her day when on the first day of March a red and white twisted thread was donned by Greek children.
- 52 A.Q. Castor, 'Protecting Athena's children: amulets in Classical Athens' in Mattusch *et al.*, *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology* 625–7, seeks to link amulet cords worn by young children with protective snake form emblems that were closely associated with the autochthonous Athenian infant Erichthonios: see Euripides *Ion* 20–6 & 1426–31. However, since none of the amulet cords depicted on Athenian figured vases appear to display snake charms, I prefer to connect this tradition with the wearing by children of snake bracelets. Such bracelets have been found in child burials (see V. Dasen, 'Les amulettes d'enfants dans le monde gréco-romain', *Latomus* 62 (2003) 281 & n. 34), and may perhaps be recognised on the wrists of some of the *choes* children: see, for example, gilt bracelets depicted on a red figure *chous* in Munich Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2466, early fourth century BC, van Hoorn *Choes and Anthesteria* no. 701, figs. 194 a & b.
- 53 Dasen, 'Les amulettes d'enfants', 275–89.
- 54 P. Wolters, 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 8 (1905), 1ff.
- 55 Early examples of amulet-wearing infants are Herakles and Erichthonios: Athenian red figure cup fr., Antikenmuseum Universität Leipzig T3365, Pan Painter, ca 470 BC, ARV² 559.151; Athenian red figure *kalpis*, London British Museum E182, Oinante Painter, ca 470–460 BC, ARV² 580.2, *Para* 392, *Add*² 263. By the second quarter of the fifth century these amulet cords are also seen on the torsos of mortal infants: see, for example, Athenian red figure *lekythos*, Copenhagen National Museum 1941, Beldam Painter, ARV² 751.3. A slightly later example is found on an Athenian white ground *lekythos*, London British Museum 1907.7–10.10, Bosanquet Painter, ARV² 1227.10.
- 56 R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992, 105.
- 57 Examples of infant females wearing the amulet cords may be found on red figure *chous*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1739, from the Kera-meikos, last quarter of the fifth century BC, van Hoorn *Choes and Anthesteria* no. 72, fig. 278; red figure *chous*, Copenhagen Thorvaldsen Museum 10121, last quarter of the fifth century BC, van Hoorn no. 487, fig. 539. On the *chous* in Copenhagen, the girl wears two diagonally slung amulet cords.
- 58 An example of a deceased child wearing a string of amulets on a white ground *lekythos* can be found on Athens National Archaeological Museum 16463, ca 430–420 BC, J. Neils & J.H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*:

- Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003, 174, fig. 14.
- 59 T. Hadzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*, Leiden, Brill, 1978; N.D. Papahatzis, 'Deities of childbirth and child-rearing', *ADelt* 33 (1978), 1–23; V. Pirenne-Delforge, 'Qui est la kourotrophos athénienne?' in V. Dasen (ed.), *Naissance et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité*, Fribourg, Academic Press, 2004, 171–85.
- 60 On the iconography of the seated boys see T. Hadzisteliou-Price, 'The type of the crouching child and the "Temple Boys"', *BSA* 64 (1969), 95–111; C. Beer, 'Comparative votive religion: the evidence of children in Cyprus, Greece and Etruria' in T. Linders & G. Nordquist (eds), *Gifts to the Gods*, Uppsala, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1987, 21–9.
- 61 Athenian red figure *chous*, Paris, Louvre L63/MNB 1759, from a tomb in Athens on the left bank of the Ilissos, Trophy Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 858.8, 1608; *Add²* 298.
- 62 *Kourotropheion* on the Akropolis: see Price, *Kourotrophos*, 101–17. For the existence of a *kourotrophic* cult in the Athenian Agora see T.L. Shear Jnr, 'The Athenian Agora: excavations of 1971', *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 125–34.
- 63 S.B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion: the People, their Dedications and the Inventories*, Amsterdam: Gieben, 1989.
- 64 For the finds of terracotta figurines from the Thesmophorion see H.A. Thompson, 'Pnyx and Thesmophorion', *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 170–7. For the coroplast's dump associated with the Athenian Eleusinion see D.B. Thompson, 'Three centuries of Hellenistic terracottas', *Hesperia* 21 (1952), 120–64.
- 65 An example of an early fourth-century BC, marble statuette of a crawling baby boy from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron is published by Vorster, *Griechische Kinderstatuen* Cat. 137. For an overview of figured terracotta votives from the Brauron Artemision see V. Mitsopoulou-Leon, 'Tonstatuetten im Heiligtum der Artemis von Brauron' in B. Petrakos (ed.), *Epainos Ioannou Papadimitriou*, Athens, Athens Archaeological Society, 1997, 357–78. At Eretria on Euboea the excavation of many terracotta figurines of children and of seated women holding children have been connected with the *kourotrophic* cult of Artemis Amaryssia. See E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 'Un dépôt de temple et le sanctuaire d'Artémis Amaryssia en Eubée', *Kernos* 5 (1992), 235–63.
- 66 The three fourth-century votive reliefs are stored in the Akropolis Museum in Athens: inventory numbers 3012, 13755 and 2574. They are illustrated and discussed by O. Palagia, 'Baby out of a basket in the Athenian Asklepieion' in Mattusch *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, 606–9.
- 67 Fragmentary cup in Paris, Louvre 980.020, from the Akropolis, dated to 450–440 BC, shows the baby Erichthonios emerging with outstretched arms from a basket. A partially preserved woman stands beside him and Athena, though not visible, must have stood in front of the basket since her spear overlaps basket lid and infant. No snakes are visible in the image insofar as it is preserved: *LIMC* III, Erichtheus 30, pl.633.
- 68 For a list of Athenian red figure vessels depicting the infant Erichthonios, see Beaumont, 'Mythological childhood: a male preserve?', 344 n. 26, n. 27 & n. 28.
- 69 Euripides, *Ion*, 16–53. Olympiodoros *Vita Pl.* 1.
- 70 A scholarly tendency to associate with Erichthonios any image of a child found on the Athenian Akropolis is found in the case of a fragmentary votive relief dating to the second half of the fourth century BC, now Athens National Archaeological Museum 2367. Here a woman holds a child on one arm and

is accompanied by two other women. Scholars who have commented on this relief largely favour interpretation of the scene as Erichthonios in the care of Aglauros, Pandrosos and Herse: see M. Giannopoulou in N. Kaltsas & A. Shapiro (eds), *Worshipping Women*, New York: Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, 2008, 176, with illustrations and earlier bibliography. However, nothing in the extant iconography contradicts an alternative interpretation of this relief as a generic votive offering dedicated in the vicinity of the Akropolis to a *kourotrophic* deity such as Ge, thereby committing to the god's care and protection the child for whom the offering was made.

- 71 For the clearest exposition of the ancient literary sources related to the timing of the Amphiromia, the form of the ritual, and its relation to the naming of the child, see R. Hamilton, 'Sources for the Athenian Amphiromia', *GRBS* 25 (1984), 243–51. See also A. Paradiso, 'L'Aggregation du nouveau-né au foyer familial: Les Amphiromies', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 14 (1988), 203–18. On naming, see M. Golden, 'Names and naming at Athens. Three studies', *EMC* 30 (1986), 245–69.
- 72 Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 7.588a8.
- 73 S.D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993, 161–78; S.G. Cole, 'The social function of rituals of maturation: the koureion and the arkteia', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 233–7; J. Labarbe, 'L'Age correspondant au sacrifice du koureion et les données historiques du sixième discours d'Isée', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique: Classe des lettres* 39 (1953), 358–94.
- 74 Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 91. See also Golden, *Children and Childhood* 26–7.
- 75 On the question of the presentation of girls to their father's *phratry* see: J.P. Gould, 'Law, custom and myth: aspects of the social position of women in classical Athens', *JHS* 100 (1980), 38–59; Cole 'The social function of rituals of maturation'; M. Golden, "'Donatus" and Athenian phratries', *CQ* n.s. 35 (1985), 9–13; Lambert *The Phratries of Attica* 179–81; S.B. Pomeroy, *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, 75–82. Perikles' citizenship law, which determined that citizenship status be accorded only to those children born of both citizen father and mother, is likely to have encouraged more regular enrolment of girls in the paternal *phratry*.
- 76 See n. 44.
- 77 Votive relief from the Athenian Akropolis, Akropolis Museum 3030, mid fourth century BC,.
- 78 See Lambert *The Phratries of Attica* 207; C.W. Hedrick, 'Phratry shrines of Attica and Athens', *Hesperia* 60 (1991), 241–68.
- 79 Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* 161–78.
- 80 L. Deubner, 'Dionysos und die Anthesterien', *JdI* 13 (1927), 172–92; H.R.W. Smith, *CVA* San Francisco I (1943), 47–9; S. Karouzou, 'Choes', *AJA* 50 (1946), 122–39; G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, Brill, 1951; H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagérie athénienne*, Paris, de Boccard, 1965, 55–76; J.R. Green, 'Some alterations and additions to van Hoorn *Choes and Anthesteria*', *BICS* 8 (1961), 23–8; A. Rumpf, 'Attische Feste-Attische Vasen', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 161 (1961), 208–14; E. Simon, 'Ein Anthesterien-skyphos des Polygnotos', *AntK* 6 (1963), 6–22; J.R. Green, 'A series of added red-figure choes', *AA* 1970, 475–87; id. 'Choes of the later fifth century' *BSA* 66 (1971), 189–228; J. Bazant, 'Iconography of choes reconsidered', *Listy Filologické* 98 (1975), 72–8; E.M. Stern, 'Kinder-kännchen zum Choenfest', *Castrum Peregrini* 132–3 (1978), 27–37; H. Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen*, Mainz am

- Rhein, von Zabern, 1984, 125–74; G. Raepset & C. Decocq, ‘Deux regards sur l’enfance athénienne à l’époque classique. Images funéraires et choes’, *Les études classiques* 55 (1987), 1–16; R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria. Athenian Iconography and Ritual*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992; G. Ham, ‘The Choes and Anthesteria reconsidered: male maturation rites and the Peloponnesian Wars’ in M.W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1999, 201–18.
- 81 Thus, for example, E.C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, New York: Harper & Row, 1985, 302–5; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls’ Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*, Athens: Kardamitsa, 1988, 48–51; Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 122.
- 82 IG ii² 1368.127–31.
- 83 Philostratos *Heroicus* 12.2.720. For a useful discussion of this passage see Ham, ‘The Choes and Anthesteria reconsidered’, 202–3 and 214 n. 7.
- 84 Attic grave stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3088, after the second century AD, IG ii² 13139. The relief is illustrated in H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977, fig. 37.
- 85 Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 746. For a useful discussion of this passage see Ham, ‘The Choes and Anthesteria reconsidered’, 204 and 215 n. 15.
- 86 Despite T.H. Carpenter’s assertion in his review of Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, that there is ‘no clear reason to connect type 3 Attic oinochoai with the Anthesteria’: CP 89 (1994), 372–5.
- 87 Scholars differ in their opinion as to whether wine was drunk directly from the *chous* (thus, for example, Hamilton *Choes and Anthesteria* 10–15) or was decanted from the *chous* into a cup (thus, for example, E. Simon who in ‘Ein Anthesterien-Skyphos des Polygnotos’, *AntK* 6 (1963), 6–22, proposes the skyphos as a likely vessel). Debate also exists over the question of whether the wine was drunk neat or diluted. Hamilton *op. cit.* posits that the wine must have been consumed neat on the basis of a boastful claim made by Dicaeopolis in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* 1230. It is, however, likely that this is comic exaggeration. Anyone downing 3.2 litres of neat wine in a competition testing drinking speed would risk serious health damage! Furthermore, as Hamilton himself points out (p. 7–9) Athenaeus 11.465a notes the evidence of Phanodemos that the wine was diluted.
- 88 B.A. Sparkes & L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora XII: Black and Plain Pottery of the Sixth, Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1970, 205–6, pl. 75; A.J. Clark, ‘The earliest known chous by the Amasis Painter’, *MMAJ* 15 (1980), 47–9.
- 89 Hamilton *Choes and Anthesteria* 67–9, 83–4.
- 90 A recently published case in point is a full-sized red figure *chous* in Bodrum Museum 4240, which shows two youths playing the *aulos* and dancing before a wreathed *chous* set on an altar: a second *chous* sits between them on the ground. C. Bron, ‘Danser aux Anthestéries’ in B. Schmaltz & M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Akten des Internationalen Vasen-Symposiums in Kiel vom 24. – 28.9.2001*, Münster, Scriptorium, 2003, 117–19 & pl. 21.1.
- 91 I follow Hamilton’s definition of the small-sized *choes* as being those with a height of 15 cm or less since these are the vessels most commonly decorated with what he terms the characteristic ‘tableau’ motifs: Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria* 83–8. His statistics show that the most common height of the miniature *chous* was 9 cm.
- 92 Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria* 83.

- 93 Athenaeus 10.437 b-e.
- 94 See, for example, miniature *choes* in Istanbul Museum 2495, last quarter of the fifth century BC, van Hoorn *Choes and Anthesteria* no. 562, fig. 66.
- 95 Athenaeus 10.437 b-c specifies that a cake was awarded to the winner. By contrast, Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 1002 tells us that the prize was a full wineskin.
- 96 Examples of sixth- and earlier fifth-century miniature *choes* found in the burials of children include the following: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, van Hoorn *Choes and Anthesteria* no. 778, fig. 375, found in Attica in an early sixth century child's grave; Rhodes Archaeological Museum 13232, van Hoorn no. 895, found in Rhodes, Red-bodied Choes Group, ca 500 BC, *ABV* 440.5; Athens, Kerameikos Museum WP15, van Hoorn nos. 158 & 159, figs. 434 & 435, two *choes* from infant's grave XX1935, ca 470-450 BC.
- Black figure examples of miniature *choes* decorated with Dionysian iconography include the following: Athens, Kerameikos Museum 662, van Hoorn no. 139, fig. 47 (Dionysos with kantharos); Athens, Vlasto Collection, van Hoorn no. 266, fig. 39, Gela Painter (mask of Dionysos between two silens); Copenhagen, National Museum 835, van Hoorn no. 470 (Dionysos and silen); Leyden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden K949.20, van Hoorn no. 613, fig. 81 (two silens at a big pithos); Rhodes Archaeological Museum 12240, van Hoorn no. 896, Red-bodied Choes Group (maenad and silen dancing); Orvieto, Museo Civico 1001, van Hoorn no. 777, Amasis Painter (goat led to sacrifice); Athens, Kerameikos Museum, van Hoorn no. 141 (fawn).
- 97 Examples of miniature *choes* produced in the second quarter of the fifth century which picture children together with the 'tableau' motifs include the following: New York, Metropolitan Museum, van Hoorn no. 767 (boy with *choes*, sprigs and wreath); Athens, Kerameikos Museum 1230/CC 1306, van Hoorn no. 27, fig. 157, Akestorides Painter (boy with lyre, stool, *choes* and wreath); Frankfurt, Historisches Museum 576, van Hoorn no. 536, fig. 464 (boy with cake); Munich, Collection Haus von Schoen, van Hoorn no. 723 (child with jug on cart); Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, van Hoorn no. 861, Bowdoin Painter (boy with flute and dog); Paris, Louvre CA493, van Hoorn no. 838, fig. 88 (two boys with *choes* and wreaths); Paris, market, van Hoorn no. 885 (girl with *choes* and wreaths); Tübingen University 1378, van Hoorn no. 961, fig. 201, School of the Penthesilea Painter (girl with *choes* and wreath).
- 98 Raepset and Decocq, 'Deux regards à l'enfance athénienne', 14-15.
- 99 Ham, 'The Choes and Anthesteria reconsidered', 209-13. See also L.A. Beaumont, 'The changing face of childhood' in J. Neils & J.H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003, 75: as will be clear to the reader, my understanding of the reasons underlying the popularity of the miniature infant-decorated *choes* of the late fifth and early fourth centuries has shifted somewhat since writing this paper in 2003.
- 100 T. Hillard, 'Children and the onset of the Athenian "plague"', *Meditarch* 19/20 (2006-7), 151-67.
- 101 Hillard, *ibid.*, notes with interest the evidence that typhus fever is less fatal in children than adults. In this context, it is particularly significant that the DNA examination of dental pulp extracted from skeletons excavated in a mass burial in the Athenian Kerameikos dated 430-420 BC, reveals that the individuals had suffered typhoid fever: M.J. Papagrigorakis, C. Yapijakis, P.N. Synodinos & E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, 'DNA examination of ancient dental pulp incriminates typhoid fever as a probable cause of the Plague of Athens', *International Journal of Infectious Diseases* 10.3 (May 2006), 191-268.

- 102 A fragmentary *chous* in the Robinson Collection preserves an inscription identifying the vessel as a gift to Akryptos from his father: CVA Robinson Collection iii, pl. XII.3.
- 103 See, for example, London British Museum E533, van Hoorn *Choes and Anthesteria* no. 637, fig. 64 (older boy dancing from altar to *chous*); Paris Louvre CA1354, van Hoorn no. 839, fig. 136 (older boy with *chous* carries younger boy on his shoulders to tripod on column, another older boy looks on); Copenhagen National Museum 5377, van Hoorn no. 475 (older boy with *chous* leads companions playing lyre and *aulos*).
- 104 Hamilton *Choes and Anthesteria* distinguishes *choes* depicting ‘tableau’ motifs from ‘non-tableau’ *choes*, and connects only the former with the Anthesteria.
- 105 On Late Classical red figure squat lekythoi depicting crawling children see: J. Frel, ‘Choix de vases attiques en Tchécoslovaquie’, *Sbornik Narodniho* 13 (1959), 269; Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 90–6. See also W.W. Rudolph, *Die Bauchlekythos*, Bloomington, 1971.
- 106 Ham, ‘Choes and Anthesteria reconsidered’, 202.
- 107 For participation of slaves in the Choes see fourth-century inscription IGii² 1672.204 (Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, T29); Kallimachos fr. 178.1–5 (Hamilton T56); Scholium to Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 368 (Hamilton T24). See also the early fourth-century BC, grave stele of the wet nurse Pyraichme, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3935; Pyraichme, characterised on her stele as a slave both by the inscription and by her appearance (short hair and long-sleeved *chiton*) sits holding a *skyphos* with a large *chous* at her feet. For discussion see Kosmopoulou, “Working women”, 287, 306. For participation of the dead in the Choes day see the admittedly late evidence of Photius sv ‘polluted day’ (Hamilton T24).
- 108 S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook*, London & New York: Routledge, 2002, 19, calculates that 39 *choes* depicting girls are listed in van Hoorn *Choes and Anthesteria*, while 43 are noted in Hamilton *Choes and Anthesteria*. See, for example, Tübingen University 1378, van Hoorn no. 961, fig. 201, School of the Penthesilea Painter, ca 460 BC, (older wreathed girl in *chiton* and *himation* pours libation from *chous*); Paris market, van Hoorn no. 885, ca 475–450 BC, (naked wreathed girl holding *chous* approaches wreath in the field); Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 10121, van Hoorn no. 487, fig. 539, ca 420 BC, (nude girl with topknot, wearing two strings of amulets, crawls to *chous*); Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, van Hoorn no. 804, fig. 488, end of the fifth century BC, (nude girl, with topknot and amulet string, crawls to *chous*).
- 109 Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria* 219.
- 110 Hamilton fails to identify as female crawling naked baby girls on the following *choes*: van Hoorn no. 487, fig. 539; van Hoorn no. 804, fig. 488; van Hoorn no. 72, fig. 278; van Hoorn no. 103, fig. 279. Hamilton omits from his statistics the following female figures depicted on *choes*: van Hoorn no. 105, fig. 311 (girl driving fawn cart); van Hoorn no. 184, fig. 522 (girl carrying cake); van Hoorn no. 190, fig. 384 (diminutive girl next to large table); van Hoorn no. 291, fig. 495 (unusual draped crawling girl with *chous* on table); van Hoorn no. 560, fig. 348 (seated girl offers grapes to boy on cock); van Hoorn no. 916, fig. 328 (girl with dog and grapes).
- 111 Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 219.
- 112 Ibid., 99.
- 113 In only one case that I know of does a crawling infant girl appear on the *choes* as a draped, rather than naked, figure: Athens, Vlasto Collection, ca 400 BC, van Hoorn no. 291, fig. 495.

- 114 In reviewing van Hoorn's images, I find the wheeled stick used by crawling or seated infants on the *choes* only in rare instances: Athens, Empedokles Collection, van Hoorn no. 258, fig. 473; Athens, Empedokles Collection, van Hoorn no. 262, fig. 347; London, British Museum E536, van Hoorn no. 640, fig. 93. On rather more occasions crawling or seated infants may be depicted in proximity to the wheeled stick but do not touch it, perhaps because they have not yet reached the appropriate age: London, British Museum 1910.6–15.4 (see Fig. 3.11); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, van Hoorn no. 304, fig. 479; Berlin, Antiquarium F2659, van Hoorn no. 329, fig. 232; Heidelberg, University Museum K14, van Hoorn no. 551, fig. 291; Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2459, van Hoorn no. 694, fig. 267; San Simeon 1622, van Hoorn no. 906 sext., fig. 528; Utrecht University 26, van Hoorn no. 969, fig. 476.
- 115 Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 106, points out that the non-crawling naked boys with wheeled stick are more commonly associated than the crawling infants with the motifs of cake and table, an observation which perhaps also indicates that those ritually participating in the Anthesteria were perceived as having left infancy behind them.
- 116 Raepset and Decocq, 'Deux regards sur l'enfance athénienne', 13. Infant with rattle: London, British Museum 1910.6–15.4 (see Fig. 3.11); Athens National Archaeological Museum 1268, van Hoorn no. 38, fig. 295; Athens Agora Museum P16917, van Hoorn no. 239, fig. 293; Heidelberg University Museum K14, van Hoorn no. 551, fig. 291. Children with knucklebones: Athens Agora Museum P9528, van Hoorn no. 192, fig. 286; London British Museum E537, van Hoorn no. 641, fig. 284. Child whipping top: Athens National Archaeological Museum 1564, van Hoorn no. 59, fig. 289; Athens Agora Museum P3572, van Hoorn no. 170, fig. 287. Children playing passe-boule and *ephedrismos*: New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.48, van Hoorn no. 758, fig. 281; Berlin Antiquarium F2417, van Hoorn no. 315, fig. 283.
- 117 For children with white spherical object, perhaps an egg, see for example: London market, van Hoorn no. 669, fig. 17; Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2465, van Hoorn no. 700, fig. 188.
- 118 For children transporting *chous*, cakes or grapes on wheeled stick see, for example: Manchester University Museum III 1 16, van Hoorn no. 684, fig. 94; Brunswick (Maine), Bowdoin College, van Hoorn no. 397, fig. 89; Dublin Museum 1103.1880, Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, fig. 11.
- 119 *Chous* in London, British Museum E536, van Hoorn no. 640, fig. 93.
- 120 For children seated in carts pulled by other children, dogs, goats or fawns see, for example: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162, van Hoorn no. 765, fig. 95; Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1887:215, van Hoorn no. 506, fig. 335; St. Petersburg, Hermitage St. 2255, van Hoorn no. 580, fig. 256; Athens National Archaeological Museum 14534, van Hoorn no. 105, fig. 311.
- 121 Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 26–7, T22 (Photius s.v. *that from the wagons* and T23 (Suda s.v. *the jokes from the wagons*).
- 122 Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 27.
- 123 See, for example, black figure *chous* in Munich, Collection Hans von Schoen, van Hoorn no. 723.
- 124 Red figure *chous* in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.5–1929, van Hoorn no. 435, fig. 92.
- 125 On the Melitaeen or Maltese dog see O. Keller, 'Hunderassen im Altertum', *JbOAI* 8 (1905), 242–69; J. Busuttill, 'The Maltese dog', *G&R* 16 (1969), 205–8. I am indebted to J. Richard Green for these references.

- 126 See the literary testimonia for the Chytroi as listed by Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 33–50. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 19, suggests that Pithoigia, the first day of the Anthesteria, involved not only the opening of the *pithoi* of new wine, but was also the occasion when the souls of the dead were allowed to come up from the ground: his suggestion seems to find support in the image on a white ground *lekythos* in Jena showing Hermes conducting souls (*eidola*) who emanate from a *pithos*: L. Deubner *Attische Feste*, 1932, pl. 8.2. The chthonic nature of the Anthesteria is clearly expressed in the image decorating a red figure *chous* in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17286, van Hoorn no. 115, fig. 35: a wreathed boy with *chous* pulls a companion seated in a cart past a funeral stele. See S. Papaspyridi Karouzou, ‘Choes’, *AJA* 50 (1946), 122–39.
- 127 Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Racc. Com. 7461, van Hoorn no. 949, fig. 27. For the appearance of the dead in dog form see E.E. Burris, ‘The place of the dog in superstition as revealed in Latin literature’, *CP* 30 (1935), 32–42; G. van Hoorn, ‘Kynika’, in G.E. Mylonas & D. Raymond (eds), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, Saint Louis, Missouri: Washington University, 1953, 106–10; C. Mainoldi, *L’Image du Loup et du Chien dans la Grèce ancienne d’Homère à Platon*, Paris: Editions Ophrys, 1984, 55–7.
- 128 For Hekate as *kourotrophos* see Hadzisteliou Price *Kourotrophos* 8, 127, 192; Pingiatoglou *Eileithyia* 93. For the association of the dog with Hekate, including its sacrifice to her, see O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, 137ff; M. Scholz, *Der Hund in der griechisch-römischen Magie und Religion*, Berlin, 1937, 14–22; Hadzisteliou Price 127, 209; J.D. Baumbach, *The Significance of Votive Offerings in Selected Hera Sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, Ionia and Western Greece*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004, 28. See also the image on a red figure *lekythos* in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1695, Beazley Archive #2765, Deubner *Attische Feste* pl. 2: woman with sacrificial tray bends with dog towards ground where three torches burn – probably best interpreted as sacrifice of dog to Hekate or perhaps Eileithyia. Hekate should probably also be identified as the monstrous part-dog, part-anthropomorphic figure on a late black figure *lekythos* in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19765, Beldam Painter, Beazley Archive #248. On the dog and death see also C. Johns, *Dogs: History, Myth, Art*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2008. The association of the dog with chthonic deities also explains its use and presence in therapeutic cults, such as that of Asklepieios. See D. Gourevitch, ‘Le chien, de la thérapeutique populaire aux cultes sanitaires’, *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire* 80 (1968), 247. Pliny *NH* XXX.43 reports that a Melitaeian dog placed on the stomach relieved pain.
- 129 For dogs on grave stelai see D. Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs: de l’époque archaïque à la fin du IV^e siècle av J.C.*, Lausanne, Bibliothèque historique Vaudoise, 1982, 53–60; M. Zlotogorska, *Darstellungen von Hunden auf griechischen Grabreliefs von der Archaik bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*, Hamburg: Kovač, 1997.
- 130 See, for example, the marble figure of a dog which stood over the grave precinct of Lysimachides (died some time between 338–317 BC) in the Kerameikos: U. Knigge, *The Athenian Kerameikos*, Athens, Krene Editions, 1991, 126.
- 131 On Agora Well G5:3 see: L.M. Little, ‘Babies in Well G5:3: Preliminary results and future analysis’, *AJA* 103 (1999), 284; L.M. Snyder, ‘The animal bones from Well G5:3: Domestic debris, industrial debris, and possible evidence for the sacrifice of dogs in Late Hellenistic Athens’, *AJA* 103 (1999), 284; S.I. Rotroff, ‘The artefacts from Well G5:3 and some conclusions concerning the deposit’,

- AJA 103 (1999), 284–5; J.K. Papadopoulos, ‘Skeletons in wells: towards an archaeology of social exclusion in the ancient Greek world’ in J. Hubert (ed.), *Madness, Disability and Social Exclusion: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Difference*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000, 110–11; M.A. Liston & J.K. Papadopoulos, ‘The “Rich Athenian Lady” was pregnant: the anthropology of a Geometric tomb reconsidered’, *Hesperia* 73 (2004), 23–6.
- 132 P. Themelis reported his findings at the ‘Regards croisés sur la naissance et la petite enfance dans l’Antiquité’ colloquium held in Fribourg between 28.11.01 and 1.12.01.
- 133 Attic funerary stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum, 375–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.870a – while Clairmont identifies the animal as a calf, it appears to my eye to more closely resemble a goat. The goat as a Dionysiac symbol is also found elsewhere on fourth-century grave stelai: two funerary reliefs from Peiraeus show heraldically posed goats. On one of the reliefs a kantharos is positioned beneath the goats: G. Steinhauer, *To Archaïologiko Mouseio Peiraios*, Athens, Olkos, 2001, 290 nos. 412 & 413. On the representation and significance of the goat on funerary monuments see further Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animaux*, 67–73.
- 134 J. Reilly, ‘Naked and limbless: learning about the feminine body in ancient Athens’ in A.O. Koloski-Ostrow & C.L. Lyons (eds), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, London & New York: Routledge, 1997, 154–73.
- 135 Reilly, ‘Naked & limbless’, 165.
- 136 Smith, CVA San Francisco I, 48; Green, ‘Choes of the later fifth century’, 189–90.
- 137 For small *choes* from the Athenian Agora see Hamilton *Choes and Anthesteria* 71, n. 30.
- 138 Attempts have been made to draw parallels between the age of the deceased child and the age of the infant depicted on the buried *chous*. See, for example, Stern ‘Kinder-kännchen zum Choenfest’. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 78–81, finds however little confirmation of this. He also questions any connection between the age of the deceased child and the size of the *chous* buried with the child. He notes (73–7) that while very few burial *choes* have a height over 12 cm, there is no differentiation between the size of the little jugs buried with infants compared with those buried with older children. Indeed, multiple *choes* found in a single child’s grave may be of different sizes.
- 139 Grave stele of Sosimenis and Sokratis from the *deme* Athmonon, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum: Steinhauer, *To Archaïologiko Mouseio Peiraios*, 288, fig. 410.
- 140 Note also the use of a marble sculpted *chous* as a grave marker at Athens: Paris, Louvre 3299, van Hoorn *Choes & Anthesteria* 23 n. 39, fig. 34. The *chous* is sculpted in relief with a scene of a man reclining on a bed with a *kantharos*: a table with cakes is also depicted, and a woman approaches with *kanoun* and *situla*.
- 141 Kallimachos fr. 178.1–5. Hamilton *Choes and Anthesteria* T56.
- 142 On the Aiora see M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, London & New York: Routledge, 2002, 69–71; S.H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, 132–6; Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria*, 48–9; W. Burkert, trans. P. Bing, *Homo Necans*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1983, 241–3; J. Hani, ‘La fête athénienne de l’Aiora et le symbolisme de la balançoire’, *REG* 91 (1978), 107–22; S. Marinatos, ‘Aiora’, *Antichthon* 2

- (1968), 1–14; B.C. Dietrich, ‘A rite of swinging during the Anthesteria’, *Hermes* 89 (1961), 36–50; Deubner *Attische Feste* 118–21.
- 143 Red figure *chous*, Athens National Archaeological Museum, Vlasto Collection VS319, Eretria Painter, ca 425 BC, ARV² 1249.14, *Add²* 354.
- 144 Red figure *chous*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 75.2.11, Meidias Painter, ca 415 BC, ARV² 1313.11, *Para* 477, *Add²* 362.
- 145 The following six Attic vessels depict a girl swinging: black figure *amphora*, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 98.918, Swing Painter, ca 540 BC, ABV 306.41; black figure *amphora*, Paris Louvre F60, Swing Painter, ca 540 BC, ABV 308.74; black figure *amphora*, Stuttgart Württembergisches Landesmuseum 65.1, Princeton Painter, ca 540 BC, Beazley Archive #9134; red figure *hydria*, Berlin Antikensammlung F2394, Washing Painter, ca 425 BC, ARV² 1131.172, *Para* 454; red figure *hydria*, Paris Louvre CA 2191, Washing Painter, ca 425 BC, ARV² 1131.173; red figure *skyphos*, Berlin Antikensammlung F2589, Penelope Painter, *Add²* 360. A red figure squat *lekythos* in Munich, Antikensammlungen J234, shows winged Himeros placed on a swing by Paidia.
- 146 Of the vessels listed in n. 145, the three black figure amphorai all depict male children in close proximity to the swing: Boston 98.918 shows a draped boy standing in front of the swing, Louvre F60 shows a small draped boy touching the swing, and Stuttgart 65.1 shows two small children beneath the swing.
- 147 Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, 70; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 241, n. 11.
- 148 Of the vessels listed in n. 145, a pithos set in the ground is shown on Berlin F2394 and Louvre CA2191, both attributed to the hand of the Washing Painter.
- 149 See n. 39.
- 150 Ham, ‘The Choes and Anthesteria reconsidered’ advocates, albeit on different grounds to those proposed by the present author, the celebration of the Choes day as a maturation ritual for boys in their third year of life.
- 151 C.L. Lawton, ‘Children in Classical Attic votive reliefs’ in A. Cohen & J.B. Rutter (eds), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007, 43–5 esp. n. 18.
- 152 Plato, *Laus*, VII.789E.
- 153 A. Kauffmann-Samaras, ‘“Mère” et enfant sur les lébétés nuptiaux à figures rouges attiques du V^es. av. J.C.’ in J. Christiansen & T. Melander (eds), *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen, August 31–September 4 1987*, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, 1988, 286–99.
- 154 Red figure *lebes gamikos*, Munich Antikensammlungen 7578, Washing Painter, ca 440 BC.; ARV² 1127.3, Kauffmann-Samaras, ‘“Mère” et enfant’, 288, fig. 3. Red figure *lebes gamikos*, Athens, Kerameikos Museum 2694, Washing Painter, ca 435 BC, Kauffmann-Samaras, ‘“Mère” et enfant’, 288, fig. 4. Red figure *lebes gamikos*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1250, ca 450 BC, ARV² 1102.5, Kauffmann-Samaras ‘“Mère” et enfant’ 287, fig. 2.
- 155 L. Romaios, *Konta stis rizes: Erevna sto nyphiko kosmo tou Ellinikou laou*, Athens, 1980, 438; N.G. Politi, ‘O gamos para tois neoteriois Ellinin’, *Laographika Symmetika* 3 (1931), 320–1.
- 156 While Kauffmann-Samaras does not explicitly identify the bride on the Munich *lebes*, she implies that she is the seated woman who passes the child to a standing woman whom she identifies as the infant’s mother. Given, however, the bridal veil-raising gesture of the *parthenos* figure dressed in shoulder mantle who stands behind the seated woman, the intended bride is more likely to

- be this young female whom marriage will transform into a *gyne*. The seated woman handing back the child may perhaps, then, be the bride's mother.
- 157 T. Dyson, 'Infant and child mortality in developing countries', *Critical Reviews in Tropic Medicine* 2 (1984), 39–76; M.J. Becker, 'Childhood among the Etruscans: mortuary programs at Tarquinia as indicators of the transition to adult status' in Cohen & Rutter (eds), *Constructions of Childhood*, 282; E. Scott, *The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999, 30–2; Lewis, *The Bioarchaeology of Children*, 81–9.
 - 158 Golden, *Children and Childhood*, 83.
 - 159 C.C. Gordon & J.E. Buikstra, 'Soil pH, bone preservation and sampling bias at mortuary sites', *American Antiquity* 46 (1981), 566–71; P.L. Walker, J.R. Johnson & P.M. Lambert, 'Age and sex biases in the preservation of human skeletal remains', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 76 (1988), 183–8; M.K. Jackes, 'Paleodemography: problems and techniques' in S.R. Saunders & M.A. Katzenberg (eds), *The Skeletal Biology of Past Peoples: Advances in Research Methods*, New York: Wiley-Liss, 1992, 189–224; H.C. Guy, C. Masset & C.-A. Baud, 'Infant taphonomy', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 7 (1997), 221–9; S.R. Saunders & L. Barrans, 'What can be done about the infant category in skeletal samples?' in R.D. Hoppa & C.M. Fitzgerald (eds), *Human Growth in the Past*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 184; Scott *The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death* 109–23; A. Lagia, 'Notions of childhood in the Classical polis: evidence from the bioarchaeological record' in Cohen & Rutter (eds) *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, 294–5; Lewis, *The Bioarchaeology of Children* 20–6.
 - 160 Lagia, 'Notions of childhood', 298.
 - 161 On the marked reduction in archaeologically visible infant burials in the fourth century BC, see I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 141; Houby-Nielsen 'Child burials in ancient Athens', 151–66; Lagia, 'Notions of childhood', 293–306.
 - 162 Houby-Nielsen, 'Child burials in ancient Athens', 151–66; id., '“Burial language” in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos', 129–91.
 - 163 Pliny in the first century AD notes that cremation was not used for those who died before teething: *NH* 7.72. The archaeological record has, however, produced rare examples of infant cremations, such as those found in the south-west quarter of the Athenian Agora, dated to the fourth and third centuries BC.; see R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, London: Duckworth, 1985, 82.
 - 164 G.E. Mylonas, *To Dytikon Nekrotapheion tis Eleusinos*, Athens: Athens Archaeological Society, 1975.
 - 165 Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City State*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 57–69.
 - 166 Houby-Nielsen, 'Child burials in ancient Athens', 163.
 - 167 Lagia, 'Notions of childhood', 293–306.
 - 168 See references provided in n. 131.
 - 169 Papadopoulos, 'Skeletons in wells', 110–11; Little, 'Babies in Well G5:3', 284; Rotroff, 'The artefacts from Well G5:3', 284–5.
 - 170 For the ancient literary sources on exposure of newborns see: Plato, *Theaetetus* 160–1E; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 530–2; Aristotle, *Politics* 7.16. See further Garland, *The Greek Way of Life*, 84–93. For modern scholarship on infant exposure see [Chapter 1](#), n. 4 and n. 13. See also G. van Viljoen, 'Plato and Aristotle on the exposure of infants at Athens', *Acta Classica* 2 (1959), 58–69; L.R.F. Germain, 'Aspects du droit d'exposition en Grèce', *Revue Historique de*

- Droit Français et Etranger* 47 (1969), 177–97; id., ‘L’exposition des enfants nouveau-nés dans la Grèce ancienne: aspects sociologique’, *Recueils Jean Bodin* 35 (1975), 211–42; Garland, *Greek Way of Life*, 84–93; S.B. Pomeroy, ‘Infanticide in Hellenistic Greece’ in A. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (eds), *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1983, 207–22; R. Oldenziel, ‘The historiography of infanticide in antiquity: a literature stillborn’ in J. Blok & P. Mason (eds), *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society*, Amsterdam: Gieben, 1987, 87–107; M.L. Edwards, ‘The cultural context of deformity in the ancient Greek world: let there be a law that no deformed child shall be reared’, *Ancient History Bulletin* 10.3–4 (1996), 79–92.
- 171 For modern scholarship on ancient gender selection effected via infant exposure see [Chapter 1](#), n. 13. See also D. Engels, ‘The problem of female infanticide in the Greco-Roman world’, *CP* 75 (1980), 112–20; E. Scott, ‘Unpicking a myth: the infanticide of female and disabled infants in antiquity’ in G. Davies *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2000*, Oxford: Oxbow, 2001, 143–51; id., ‘Killing the female? Archaeological narratives of infanticide’ in N. Arnold & N. Wicker (eds), *Gender and the Archaeology of Death*, Walnut Creek, Altamira Press, 2001, 1–22; M. Kleijwegt, ‘Exposed, mistreated and marginalised: towards a history of female children in the ancient world (and beyond)’ in E.A. Maré (ed.), *Quests for Humanity: The Middle Ages and the Millennium. Papers of the Conference of the Unisa Medieval Association Held on 22–23 September 1999*, Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2002, 113–25.
- 172 A problem recognised by Hesiod in the *Works and Days* 376–8.
- 173 On the ancient literary sources for the childhoods of Perseus and Oidipus see *LIMC* III, Danae, p. 325–56; *LIMC* VII, Perseus, p. 332–48; *LIMC* VII, Oidipus, p. 1–15; J. Oakley, ‘Danae and Perseus on Seriphos’, *AJA* 86 (1982), 111 n. 2. For Attic red figure vessels depicting the exposure and rescue of Perseus and Oidipus see the lists in L.A. Beaumont, ‘Mythological childhood: a male preserve?’, *BSA* 90 (1995), 347 n. 41, 348 n. 48.
- 174 For the myth of the baby Hippothoon see *LIMC* V, Hippothoon, p. 468–75. The rescue of the exposed child by a mare is depicted on a fragmentary *chous* in Tübingen University S/10 1610, dated to ca 340 BC: *LIMC* I, Alope 1, pl. 432; Hippothoon 1, pl. 329. On the subject of abandoned mythological children suckled by animals see also this volume [Chapter 3](#), n. 23.
- 175 For red figure images of Kronos contemplating a swaddled bundle and for the infant Herakles beset by snakes see the lists in Beaumont ‘Mythological childhood’, 341–2 n. 18 and 344 n. 30.
- 176 M.-T. Charlier & G. Raepset, ‘Etude d’un comportement social: les relations entre parents et enfants dans la société Athénienne à l’époque classique’, *Antiquite Classique* 40 (1971), 589–606; M. Golden, ‘Did the ancients care when their children died?’, *G&R* 35 (1988), 152–63.
- 177 E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, ‘A mass burial from the cemetery of Kerameikos’ in M. Stamatopoulou & M. Yeroulanou (eds), *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002, 187–201.
- 178 For infants in Athenian funerary iconography see: C. Vorster, *Griechische Kinderstatuen*, Cologne: Wasmuth, 1983, 1–47; O. Hirsch-Dyck, *Les Représentations des Enfants sur les Stèles Funéraires Attiques*, Warsaw: Universitas Jagellonica Acta Scientiarum Litterarumque 666, 1983; H. Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst von der minoisch-mykenischen Zeit bis zum Hellenismus*, Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1984, 75–184; M.A. Burson-Walter, ‘Attic

Greek attitudes towards children's death: depictions on fourth century grave stela', unpublished MA thesis, Michigan State University, 1988; Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*; A. Scholl, *Die Attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4 Jhs. v. Chr.*, Berlin, Mann, 1996, 114–23, 182–4; J.H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 172–3; id., 'Death and the Child' in Neils and Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 163–94; J. Grossman, 'Forever young: an investigation of the depictions of children on classical Attic funerary monuments' in Cohen & Rutter (eds), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, 309–22.

- 179 Athens National Archaeological Museum 4472: G.M.A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London: Phaidon, 1961, no. 59, figs. 151–53.
- 180 Male infants crawling on the steps of a tomb monument are depicted on the following white ground *lekythoi*: Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 7619, Bird Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1233.18, Add² 352; Vienna University 791, Manner of the Bird Painter, ARV² 1233.2; Athens National Archaeological Museum 17521, Beazley Archive #14391.
- 181 Infants perched atop a tomb monument are depicted on the following white ground *lekythoi*: Athens National Archaeological Museum 1815, Sabouroff Painter, mid fifth century BC, ARV² 845.169, Add² 297; Atlanta, Emory University, Michael C. Carlos Museum 1999.11.1, Thanatos Painter, ca 440 BC, ARV² 1230.44, Add² 351; Mannheim, Reiss-Museum 14, 430–420 BC, Woman Painter, ARV² 1372.12.
- 182 Athens National Archaeological Museum 1814, Beazley Archive #10219. A similar, badly damaged, image decorates a white ground *lekythos* in Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universität 21, recalls Bird Painter, 430–420 BC, Beazley Archive #10215: here a woman bearing an offering tray and an alabastron faces a chubby baby who appears to be perched on a rock; Charon in his boat approaches from right.
- 183 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Fortnum C.129, Beazley Archive #15459.
- 184 Athens National Archaeological Museum 1040, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.868. Once Athens private collection, whereabouts now unknown, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.869. Fragmentary stele from Kallithea, present whereabouts unknown, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.868a.
- 185 Athens National Archaeological Museum 914, first quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.720. Another fourth-century stele, once in an Athens private collection, would similarly appear to celebrate a squatting infant and a standing child: Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 212.
- 186 Athens National Archaeological Museum 1125, second quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.837.
- 187 Athens National Archaeological Museum 3845, ca 430 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.610. Further examples of a kneeling or squatting infant reaching up to an older standing figure include: stele of Kollion, Broom Hall, second quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.836; Ecole Française d'Athènes 54, second quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.857; stele of Hagnothea, Athens National Archaeological Museum 980, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.771; stele of Timarete, London, British Museum 1947.7–14.1, last quarter of the fifth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.867 – Timarete is often assumed by scholars to be the mother of the kneeling infant girl, but the emphasis placed on her youth by the long locks of hair flowing down her back lead me to conclude that she is rather the infant's sister.

- 188 Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 49, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.785.
- 189 V. Dasen, *Jumeaux, Jumelles dans l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine*, Kilchberg, Akanthus, 2005, 204–5. For twins on funerary stelai see further V. Dasen, 'Les jumeaux dans l'imaginaire funéraire grec' in G. Hoffmann (ed.), *Les pierres de l'offrande: autour de l'oeuvre de Christoph W. Clairmont*, Kilchberg: Akanthus, 2001, 72–89.
- 190 Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 17, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.715.
- 191 A second funerary stele of fourth century BC date from the Peiraeus also depicts a seated man with an infant: Athens National Archaeological Museum 4832, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.829. A badly damaged white ground *lekythos* of late fifth century date may also perhaps depict an infant held by a man at a tomb: Athens National Archaeological Museum 17520, Painter of the New York Hypnos, ARV² 1242.9. However, the poorly preserved condition of the figures makes it difficult to ascertain the gender of the adult figure.
- 192 Athens, Kerameikos Museum P695, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.660.
- 193 Other than the stele of Ampharete, I know of only one certain example of an Athenian stele depicting a two-figure group of seated woman and baby: stele of Arkesis, collection of the National Trust, Lyme Park, Cheshire, ca 370–360 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.819. A fragmentary relief of ca 400–375 BC, Kerameikos Museum P169, also shows a seated woman cradling a wrapped infant on her lap, but it is unclear whether additional, now lost, figures were once included on the relief: Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.727.
- 194 See, for example, Marathon Museum BE102, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.815; New York, Collection of Shelby White & Leon Levy, ca 400–375 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.780a.
See also discussion of the nurse figure, [Chapter 3.2](#) and n. 34–5.
- 195 See, for example, Houston Museum of Fine Arts 37.25, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.795; Athens National Archaeological Museum 901, ca 410–400 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.590. On both stelai the female figure standing before the seated woman holds an infant on her left arm and can be identified as a *parthenos* by the back mantle she wears.
- 196 See, for example, the infant on the following stelai: Athens National Archaeological Museum 3790, ca 370 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.780; Leiden, Rijksmuseum, I 1903/2.1, ca 420–410 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.652.
- 197 Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 202, Beazley Archive #19472.
- 198 See, for example, Los Angeles County Museum 50.8.18, Painter of the New York Hypnos, ca 430–420 BC, ARV² 1242.8, *Add²* 353.
- 199 See, for example, London, British Museum 1907.7–10.10, Bosanquet Painter, third quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV² 1227.10; Athens National Archaeological Museum 216765, Painter of Berlin 2464, ARV² 1244.4.
- 200 See, for example, Winterthur, Swiss private collection, Painter of Berlin 2451, ca 430–420 BC, ARV² 1243.2; New York, Market, Beazley Archive #25910; Athens National Archaeological Museum 17520, Painter of the New York Hypnos, ca 430–420 BC, ARV² 1242.9. While the representation of the tomb marker is not found on relief sculpted funerary stelai, it does occur on an unusual stone *lekythos* dating to the first quarter of the fourth century BC:

Athens, Kerameikos Museum MG51, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 4.710. Here a man and woman perform the *dexiosis*, or handshake, gesture in front of a grave stele. The central group is flanked by two additional female figures, one of whom holds a wrapped infant.

- 201 For infant as mourner on a white ground *lekkythos* see Gotha, Schloss Museum 57, Painter of the New York Hypnos, ca 430–420 BC, ARV² 1242.4. For infants participating in the *prothesis* and mourning of the dead on Attic black figure plaques see: Athens National Archaeological Museum 12352, ca 600 BC, J. Boardman, ‘Painted funerary plaques and some remarks on prothesis’, *BSA* 50 (1955), 51–66 & pl. 1; Tübingen Eberhard – Karls Universität D1, ca 600 BC, Beazley Archive #2788; Berlin Antikensammlung 1813, Exekias, ca 540–530 BC, Beazley Archive #350506. See also an infant as mourner on a black figure *phormiskos*, Bologna Museo Civico 1438, ca 540–530 BC, Beazley Archive #5237.
- 202 For small child perched on a footstool at the feet of a seated adult figure see stele in Athens, Epigraphical Museum 10432, first half of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.891.
- 203 Malibu, J Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.121, ca 370–360 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.718. Monuments such as the stele of Mynnias lead us to contest the claim that is sometimes made in the scholarly literature that seated figures depicted on funerary reliefs should necessarily be equated with the deceased. It seems rather that the seated posture on many occasions marks the figure concerned as belonging to an older generation than that to which an accompanying standing figure belongs.
- 204 Funerary markers depicting family groups that incorporate an infant together with an older child or children may be classified as follows: (i) seated woman, infant squatting on the ground, and older standing child – for example, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1089, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.763. (ii) seated man or woman shaking hands with standing man or woman, infant squatting on the ground, older child of opposite gender standing by chair – for example, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2083, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.830b; Athens Epigraphical Museum 6179, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.916; present whereabouts unknown, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.856a. (iii) standing or seated woman shaking hands with standing man or woman, boy or girl stands adjacent to them, standing servant woman holding closely wrapped baby – for example, Cleveland Museum of Art 25.1342, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 3.745; Paris, Louvre MA 3113, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 4.910. (iv) woman seated with infant on her lap confronted by standing woman holding closely wrapped baby – for example, Athens, Roman Agora 748, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.725. (v) seated man shaking hands with *parthenos*, woman standing behind man, infant squatting on ground, third child standing close by – for example, Rhamnous *apothēke*, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 3.710. (vi) seated woman shaking hands with standing man and holding child on her knee, older child stands adjacent, *parthenos* observes – for example, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1023, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 4.830.
- 205 See Chapter 3, n. 7.
- 206 For a discussion of diachronic change in the representation of the child figure in Athenian art see: L.A. Beaumont, ‘The changing face of childhood’ in Neils & Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 59–83; id., ‘Changing childhoods? The representation of children in Attic figured vase painting’ in B.

Schmaltz & M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext*, Münster: Scriptorium, 2003, 108–10.

207 Hesychios s.v. *stephanon ekpherein*.

4 THE DEVELOPING CHILD

- 1 Xenophon, *Lac. Pol.* 2.1.
- 2 S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook*, London & New York: Routledge, 2002, 59.
- 3 *Pyxis*, Dallas Museum of Art 1968.28a–b, Aberdeen Painter, ca 450–440 BC, Beazley Archive #9139. Cup, Berlin Antikensammlung 4282, Providence Painter, ca 470 BC, ARV² 644.134. *Kalpis hydria*, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek SL476, akin to the Clio Painter, ca 440 BC, ARV² 1083.2, Add² 327. On a fourth vessel, a red figure *alabastron* decorated ca 460–450 BC by the Villa Giulia Painter and now in the Providence Rhode Island School of Design 25.088 (ARV² 624.88, Add² 271), a standing woman is presented in the domestic context, indicated by a *kalathos* or wool basket, with both a babe in arms and a naked little boy who stands by her side and clutches at her dress. I am, however, loath to ascribe this image a genre identity as a domestic scene of child-rearing since the apprehensive hand-to-face gesture of the woman and the gaze of both woman and young boy to a point beyond the confines of the picture boundaries suggest a narrative, possibly mythological, theme of which we are ignorant: Beazley in ARV² suggested that this is Astyoche with her sons Askalaphos and Ialmenos.
- 4 On the *epaulia* and the role of the *pais amphithaleis*, see J.H. Oakley & R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, 38.
- 5 Frr. *kylix*, Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale B327, near the Painter of Munich 2676, ca 475 BC, ARV² 394.3.
- 6 *Kylix*, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS442, Painter of the Fourteenth Brygos, ca 475 BC, CVA Switzerland 6, pl. 13.
- 7 *Kylix*, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 8210, Sabouroff Painter, ca 450 BC, Beazley Archive #212206.
- 8 *Hydria*, Tampa Museum of Art 1986.070, Harrow Painter, ca 470 BC, ARV² 276.70, Add² 207.
- 9 See J. Neils & J.H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece. Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2003, Cat. 62 – with further bibliography.
- 10 *Pelike*, Münster, Wilhelms-Universität Archäologisches Museum 66, Eucharides Painter, ca 480 BC, Beazley Archive #13698.
- 11 On the girdle as an item of clothing closely connected with the sexual status of the female, see this volume [Chapter 2.2](#) and n. 63.
- 12 For the custom of a male child sleeping with the bride before or after her wedding see Oakley & Sinos, *The Greek Wedding* 37.
- 13 For an example of a black figure departure of warrior scene that incorporates the standing prepubescent child as well as the babe in arms see [Chapter 3](#), n. 37. For a red figure arming scene in which a small draped boy stands beside an adult female see *stamnos* in Goluchow, Czartorski 50, second quarter of the fifth century BC, J.D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1928, pl. 11.3: given, however, the beardless state of the arming warrior, the child may perhaps be his brother rather than his son.
- 14 For a black figure example of a child reaching up to its warrior father see belly

- amphora*, Madison Wisconsin Loan 5173 from Elvehjem Museum of Art, Painter of Berlin 1686, ca 550 BC, Beazley Archive #5173. An old white-haired man stoops to comfort a small boy who raises one hand to his head in a gesture of grief on a somewhat later *amphora* in Orvieto, Museum Civico, Coll. Faina 77, Exekias, ABV 144.10, *Para* 60.
- 15 On this subject see further R. Osborne, 'Inter-personal relations on Athenian pots: putting others in their place' in P. Cartledge, P. Millett & S. von Reden, *Kosmos. Essays in Conflict, Order and Community in Classical Athens*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 13–36. See also A. Cohen, 'Picturing Greek families' in B. Rawson (ed.), *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Malden MA, Oxford & Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, 465–87.
 - 16 Red figure *pelike*, Berlin Antikensammlung 4496, Syriskos Painter, ca 475 BC, ARV² 262.30.
 - 17 Red figure *pelike*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G247, Eucharides Painter, from Rhodes, ca 500 BC, *Para* 173.
 - 18 For relevant references and discussion see B.S. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, 89–97 & n. 64.
 - 19 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3947, ca 400 BC, C.W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Kilchberg: Akanthus, 1993 1.688.
 - 20 See, for example, a funerary stelai of ca 380 BC, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 46, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.687, which depicts a rare instance of a boy performing the *dexiosis*, or handshake, gesture with an adult bearded male. Another stele of ca 400 BC from Peiraeus, now Louvre Ma773, shows a smaller draped boy with *aryballos* standing before a bearded man who hands a now unidentifiable object to him: interestingly, the tombstone was erected for a non-Athenian, Antiochos of Knidos. For further examples, and discussion, of tombstones depicting a boy with an adult male see this chapter, [section 4.6](#).
 - 21 See [Chapter 3](#), n. 77.
 - 22 Athenian votive relief dedicated by Sosippos to Theseus, ca 400 BC, Paris, Louvre MA743, Neils & Oakley *Coming of Age* 96, fig. 12. Athenian votive relief with Herakles, ca 380–370 BC, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2723, Neils & Oakley, *Coming of Age* 96, fig. 13. A further fourth-century relief dedicated in honour of Zeus Meilichios shows a bearded male with a small standing child approaching a large snake: Berlin, Antikenmuseum K92, H. Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen*, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern, 1984, 78 fig. 46 – this piece is, however, said to come from Boiotia rather than Attica.
 - 23 Funerary stele of Xanthippos, London, British Museum 1805.7–3.183, ca 420 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.630.
 - 24 Funerary stele of Philo and Megakles, ca 530 BC, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.185a–c, f, g, G.M.A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London, Phaidon, 1961, figs. 96–109.
 - 25 Funerary stele of Euempolos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 778, ca 400 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.690.
 - 26 M. Xagorari-Gleissner, 'Das kleine Mädchen und der alte Mann', *AntK* 50 (2007), 51–7. The three funerary stelai in question, which rather interestingly all come from Peiraeus, are as follows: Athens National Archaeological Museum 777, ca 400 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.689; Athens National Archaeological Museum 880, ca 410–400 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.620; Athens National Archaeological Museum 899, ca 360–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.889.

- 27 Plato *Protagoras* 325c, trans. B.S. Strauss.
- 28 On nurses and *paidagogoi* see S. Pfisterer-Haas, *Darstellungen alter Frauen in der griechischen Kunst*, Frankfurt, Lang, 1989; H. Schulze, *Ammen und Pädagogen: Sklavinnen und Sklaven als Erzieher in der antiken Kunst und Geschichte*, Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1998; T. Harten, *Paidagogos: Der Pädagoge in der griechischen Kunst*, Kiel, 1999.
- 29 M. Golden, 'Pais, "child" and "slave"', *AntCl* 54 (1985), 91–104.
- 30 M. Golden, 'The effects of slavery on citizen households and children: Aeschylus, Aristophanes and Athens', *Historical Reflections* 15 (1988), 455–475; id., *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, 145–63.
- 31 See [Chapter 3](#), n. 30.
- 32 Three funerary inscriptions for *paidagogoi* are listed by Schulze *Ammen und Pädagogen* 40 n. 242.
- 33 Schulze *Ammen und Pädagogen* 61–104. A rare genre example may be found in the tondo of a cup in Berlin, where the thickened chin and action of the woman stooping to receive the child in her voluminous *himation* may perhaps suggest the advancing age and stance of the nurse: Attic red figure *kylix*, Berlin Antikensammlung 4282, Providence Painter, ca 470 BC, ARV² 644.134, *Add*² 275.
- 34 Schulze *Ammen und Pädagogen*, 23–5.
- 35 Good examples of the *paidagogos* depicted as a stooping, balding figure with less than ideal facial features may be found on the following Attic red figure vases: *pelike*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1418, third quarter of the fifth century BC, Orpheus Painter, ARV² 1104.11; Nolan amphora, Baranello 85, Manner of the Alkimachos Painter, 460–450 BC, ARV² 533, *Para* 384.
- 36 Schulze *Ammen und Pädagogen*, 42–55.
- 37 V.J. Hunter, 'Constructing the body of the citizen: corporal punishment in Classical Athens', *EMC* 36 (1992), 271–91.
- 38 Black figure *lekythos*, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico PU204, from Etruria, ca 550 BC, Sandal Painter, ABV 70.7; black figure *amphora*, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 130, ca 540 BC, Painter of Würzburg 252, *Para* 137; black figure *olpe*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 3230, from Italy, end of the sixth century BC, Theseus Painter, ABV 519.7; red figure *pelike*, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia XXXX0.73, from near Viterbo, last quarter of the sixth century BC, Euphronios, ABV 15.11, *Add*² 73; red figure *hydria*, Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum 530, from Vulci, ca 500 BC, Beazley Archive #2723. Further on punishment see F. Beck, *Album of Greek Education*, Sydney, Cheiron Press, 1975, 44–6.
- 39 For examples of Aphrodite beating Eros with a sandal see Beck *Album of Greek Education* pl. 51, nos. 267a & b.
- 40 For these Roman literary sources, and for a thoughtful consideration of the agency of children in the economy of the Greco-Roman household, see R.P. Saller, 'Household and gender' in W. Scheidel, I. Morris & R.P. Saller (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 87–112.
- 41 On juvenile apprentice craftsmen see this volume [Chapter 1](#), n. 46.
- 42 For images of girls assisting with childminding see, for example: white ground *lekythos*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 12771, Timokrates Painter, ca 465 BC, ARV² 743.1, 1668, *Add*² 284; Attic funerary stele, Athens Kerameikos Museum P233, ca 350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.894. For

images of girls collecting water at the fountain house see, for example, red figure *hydria*, Madrid Museo Arqueologico Nacional 11117, Berlin Painter, ca 480 BC, ARV² 209.167. Note also a black figure *hydria* in Bari Museo Archeologico Provinciale 3083, AD Painter, second half of the sixth century BC, ABV 334.4, Add² 91, on which women at the fountainhouse are accompanied by a small boy. On another black figure *hydria* by the AD Painter in Naples Museo Archeologico Nazionale H12, Add² 91, an adult woman at the fountainhouse holds up an infant and is accompanied by five small female figures, probably pubescent maidens, one of whom juggles balls. For images of girls fetching and carrying for an adult see, for example: red figure *lekythos*, Mainz University 119, Painter of London E342, second quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV² 669.41ter, 1664, on which a girl brings a bundle of clothes to a woman; white ground *lekythos*, Brussels Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A1019, Nikon Painter, 470–60 BC, ARV² 652.3, on which a girl carries a chest in the presence of an older maiden.

For images of girls assisting in the dressing and toilette of an older female see, for example, red figure *pelike*, Berlin Antikensammlung 4496, Syriskos Painter, ca 475 BC, ARV² 262.30. For images of girls playing the flute at the *symposion* see, for example, red figure cup, Paris, Louvre G312, Briseis Painter, first quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV² 409.39.

- 43 For images of boys serving wine or flute playing in the *symposion* setting see, for example: red figure cup, London, British Museum E49, Douris, ca 490–480 BC, ARV² 432.52; red figure cup, Heidelberg, Karls-Ruprecht Universität 63.6, ca 470 BC, Beazley Archive #4028. For images of boys fetching and carrying for an adult see, for example: Attic marble funerary *loutrophoros-amphora*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 953, second quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.855 – a boy holds Euthippos's helmet and shield; red figure cup, London, British Museum E62, Makron, first quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV² 471.194, on which a boy brings food to a seated man.
- 44 For images of boys at work in a potter's workshop see, for example: red figure calyx *krater*, Caltagirone, Museo Regionale della Ceramica 961, ca 440 BC, Beazley Archive #4355; red figure stemless cup in Berlin. Antikensammlung F2542, mid fifth century BC, ARV² 803.60, Para 419, Add² 143. For images of boys fishing see, for example, red figure cup, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8024, first quarter of the fifth century BC, Ambrosios Painter, Add² 184. For images of boys feeding chickens see, for example, red figure *chous*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1654, end of the fifth century BC, Beazley Archive #10220.
- 45 On the problem of identifying servile and free, particularly in the case of children, as depicted in Greek art see the following: N. Himmelfmann, *Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei*, Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, 1971; O. Hirsch-Dyck, *Les Représentations des Enfants sur les stèles funéraires Attiques*, Warsaw & Cracow, Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1983, 54–5; H. Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen*, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern, 1984, 61–76; D.C. Kurtz, 'Mistress and Maid', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica, Napoli* 10 (1988), 141–9; J. Reilly, 'Many brides: "Mistress and Maid" on Athenian lekythoi', *Hesperia* 58 (1989), 411–44; L.J. Rocco, 'Back mantle and peplos', *Hesperia* 69 (2000), 259–60; J.H. Oakley, 'Some "Other" members of the Athenian household and their mistresses in fifth-century Athenian art' in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Leiden, Boston & Köln, Brill, 2000, 227–47; Lewis *The*

- Athenian Woman* 28–35; J.B. Grossman, ‘Children in Classical Attic funerary monuments’ in A. Cohen & J.B. Rutter (eds), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007, 318–21.
- 46 See, for example, the stele of Philostratos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3696, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.855a; stele of Deinias, Athens National Archaeological Museum 934, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.930; stele of Demainete, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.63, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.909.
- 47 See, for example, the figure of an African boy groom on red figure cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.71, Onesimos, ca 480 BC, ARV² 329.125bis. On a white ground *lekythos* in Atlanta, Emory University, Michael C. Carlos Museum 1999.11.1, Thanatos Painter, ca 440 BC, ARV² 1230.44, Add² 351, an African slave girl brings offerings to a tomb monument topped by the figure of a squatting baby.
- 48 See, for example, red figure cup, Berlin, Antikenmuseum F2309, Brygos Painter, ca 490 BC, ARV² 373.46; red figure *chous*, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.237, Oionokles Painter, ca 470 BC, Beazley Archive #10147.
- 49 Naked boys and youths in sacrifice scenes are discussed in [section 4.5](#) of this chapter under ‘Cult and Ritual’.
- 50 For these stelai see notes 19, 20 and 25.
- 51 ‘Cat Stele’, Athens National Archaeological Museum 715, ca 425 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.550. Ilissos Stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 869, ca 340 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.950.
- 52 For a slave boy wearing a short tunic or *exomis* on Athenian funerary markers see: marble *loutrophoros-amphora*, Athens Kerameikos Museum MG33.177, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 3.890; stele of Antimenes and Olbia, Athens National Archaeological Museum (no inventory number), ca 320 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.959.
- 53 J.N. Bremmer, ‘Adolescents, symposion and pederasty’ in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptotica. A Symposium on the Symposion*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 135–48; A. Booth, ‘The age for reclining and its attendant perils’ in W.J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991, 105–20.
- 54 See, for example, white ground *lekythos*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 12770, Timokrates Painter, ca 460 BC, ARV² 743.7; Attic funerary stele, Eleusis Archaeological Museum, end of the fifth century BC, K. Papangeli, *Eleusina*, Athens, Olkos, 2002, 336.
- 55 See, for example, funerary stele of Medontis and Nikandra, Athens, Kerameikos Museum P233.I167, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.894; stele of Demainete, ca 310 BC, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.63, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.909.
- 56 For slave girl wearing short-sleeved *chiton* see, for example, red figure *skyphos*, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.265, ca 460 BC, CVA Malibu 8, USA 33, 3–4, fig. 2 & pls. 388.5–6, 389.
- For a slave girl wearing *peplos* see, for example, white ground *lekythos*, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.253, ca 460 BC, ARV² 1668.5bis, Para 413, Add² 284.
- 57 On children’s toys and games see [Chapter 1](#), n. 4, n. 6, n. 21. See also C. Robert, ‘Griechische Kinderspiele auf Vasen’, *AZ* 37 (1879), 78–84; D’Arcy W. Thompson, ‘Games and playthings’, *G&R* 2 (1933), 71–9; E. Schmidt, *Spielzeug und Spiele der Kinder im klassischen Altertum*, Meiningen: Staatliche Museen Meiningen,

- 1971; G. Lambin, 'Les formules de jeux d'enfants dans la Grèce antique', *REG* 88 (1975), 168–77; J.M. Hemelryk, 'Le Jeu' in D. Vanhove (ed.), *Le Sport dans la Grèce Antique: Du Jeu à la Competition*, Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1992, 19–33; L.A. Beaumont, 'Child's play in Classical Athens', *History Today* 44 (8), August 1994, 30–5; L. Summerer, 'Kinder, Spiele und Spielzeug' in F.W. Hamdorf (ed.), *Der Hauch des Prometheus. Meisterwerke in Ton*, Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 1996, 123–7; M. Fittà, *Spiele und Spielzeuge in der Antike. Unterhaltung und Vergnügen im Altertum*, Stuttgart: Theiss, 1998; M. Manson, *Jouets de toujours. De l'Antiquité à la révolution*, Paris: Fayard, 2000; Neils & Oakley, *Coming of Age* 264–79.
- 58 H.D. Rankin, 'Toys and education in Plato's Laws', *Hermathena* 92 (1958), 62–5; R. M. Manson, 'Le droit de jouer pour les enfants grecs et romains', *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 39 (1975), 117–50; K. Sprague, 'Plato and children's games' in D.E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury*, Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1984, 275–84.
- 59 Plato *Laws* I.643B, Aristotle *Politics* VII.1336a.
- 60 Plato *Laws* VII.794A.
- 61 On the difficulty of identifying children's toys in archaeological contexts see J.E. Baxter, *The Archaeology of Childhood*, Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2005, 46–50.
- 62 F. Graf, 'Rolling the dice for an answer' in S.I. Johnston & P.T. Struck (eds), *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination*, Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2005, 51–97.
- 63 K.R. Mühlbauer & Th. Miller, 'Spielzeug und Kult: Zur religiösen und kulturellen Bedeutung von Kinderspielzeug in der griechischen Antike', *AJAH* 13.2 (1997), 154–69.
- 64 Red figure cup, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University B9, Douris, ca 480–470 BC, ARV² 444.251, *Add²* 241. Red figure *lekythos*, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität S./10 814, Painter of London E342, second quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV¹ 463.5.
- 65 For girls riding on a see-saw see: red figure *hydria*, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11128, Dwarf Painter, ca 450 BC, ARV² 1011.17; red figure *hydria*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1178, Painter of Athens 1454, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1179.5; red figure column *krater* fr., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.191a–b, Leningrad Painter, ca 470–60 BC, ARV² 569.49, *Para* 390, *Add²* 261; red figure cup, New York, Collection of I. Love XXXX217249, Kodros Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1271.38bis, *Para* 472.
- 66 J. Reilly, 'Naked and limbless. Learning about the feminine body in ancient Athens' in A.O. Koloski-Ostrow & C.L. Lyons (eds), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, London & New York: Routledge, 1997, 154–73.
- 67 'Timareta, the daughter of Timaretus, before her wedding, hath dedicated to thee, Artemis of the Lake, her tambourine and her pretty ball, and the caul that kept up her hair, and her dolls, too, and their dresses; a virgin's gift, as is fit, to a virgin Dian. But, Daughter of Leto, hold thy hand over the girl, and purely keep her in purity.' *Anth. Pal.* VI.280 in *The Greek Anthology* Vol. I, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960, 449, trans. W.R. Paton. For the female figurine types commonly represented on funerary stelai see Reilly 'Naked and limbless' 166, n. 2, n.3, and n. 4. There is also one white-ground example of a full-limbed female figurine carried towards a tomb by a girl: white-ground *lekythos*, New Orleans, private collection, Thanatos Painter, ca 440 BC, ARV² 1230.45, *Add²* 351.

- 68 On dolls see K. Elderkin, 'Jointed dolls in antiquity', *AJA* 34 (1930), 455–79; J. Dörig, 'Von griechischen Puppen', *AntK* 1 (1958), 41–52; M. Manson, 'Les poupées antiques' in R. May (ed.), *Jouer dans l'Antiquité*. Catalogue of an exhibition held November 1991 to February 1992, Marseille, Musées de Marseille et Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1991, 48–57; M. Argyriadi, *Dolls in Greek Art and Life from Antiquity to the Present Day*, Athens, Braggioti, 1991. See also K. Collingridge, "'Hello Dolly": Figurines as an indicator of gender in child graves' in C.C. Mattusch, A.A. Donohue & A. Brauer (eds), *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology Boston, August 23–26, 2003*, Oxford: Oxbow, 2006, 485–7.
- 69 Reilly 'Naked and limbless' 163–4, with further bibliography.
- 70 Pliny *Natural History* 34.19.55. L. Beschi, 'Gli "Astragalizontes" di un Policleto', *Prospettiva* 15 (1978), 4–12.
- 71 *Greek Anthology* 6.308.
- 72 Pollux *Onomastikon* 9.126. On games played with *astragaloi*, and for further bibliography, see Neils & Oakley *Coming of Age* 276–7.
- 73 For the *phormiskos* see, for example, red figure *chous* London, British Museum E537, ca 420 BC, van Hoorn *Choes and Anthesteria* no. 641, fig. 284. The *phormiskos* may also be seen suspended from the wall in schoolroom scenes: for example, red figure *hydria*, London British Museum E171, Agrigento Painter, ca 470–460 BC, ARV² 579.87.
- 74 Red figure *pyxis*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.119, late fifth century BC, Beazley Archive #4193.
- 75 See red figure *chous*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.48, ca 425 BC, Beazley Archive #3753; red figure pig-head *rhyton*, Beirut, National Museum 123, Kalliope Painter, ARV² 1262.59, 1688, *Add²* 355.
- 76 Marble statue base, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3477.
- 77 Pollux *Onomastikon* 9.119 & 122.
- 78 For a detailed analysis of the iconography of *ephedrismos*, and a comprehensive list of the relevant images, see C. Scheffer, 'Return or no return: The so-called *ephedrismos* group and the Hephaisteion', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 21 (1996), 169–88.
- 79 For the depiction of *morra* in Athenian art see, for example, red figure *kalpis hydria*, Warsaw, National Museum 142293, Washing Painter, third quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV² 1130.150, *Para* 453, *Add²* 333.
- 80 Red figure *pyxis*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.40, Manner of the Meidias Painter, ca 420 BC, *Add²* 364; red figure *lekythos*, Minneapolis Institute of Arts 57.41.1, Manner of the Meidias Painter, ca 420 BC, ARV² 1326.74; white ground *lekythos*, Lecce, Mus. Prov. Sigismondo Castromediano 566, Lupoli Painter, third quarter of the fifth century BC, Beazley Archive #4535.
- 81 Note, however, that men may engage in play in the Dionysiac context of the *symposion* with games of *kottabos*. More generally, dice and board games seem also to have been an acceptable form of play for adult males, the latter perhaps because it involved mental skill and cognition which were attributes perceived as being possessed in far greater abundance by men than by women and children. On *kottabos* see B.A. Sparkes, 'Kottabos: an Athenian after-dinner game', *Archaeology* 13 (1960), 202ff. On board games see L. Kurke, 'Ancient Greek board games and how to play them', *CPh* 94 (1999), 247–67.
- 82 W.F. Gosling, 'Pets in Classical times', *G&R* 4 (1934–5), 109–13; F.A.G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education*, Sydney, Cheiron Press, 1975, 49–50; D. Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs*, Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, 1982.

- 83 J. Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- 84 Woysch-Méautis *La représentation des animaux*, 61–4; G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke: Ihre Bedeutung im pädagogischen Erziehungssystem*, Athens, Berlin, 1983.
- 85 A. Ashmead, ‘Greek cats’, *Expedition* 20 no. 3 (1978), 38–47.
- 86 For an overview of education in Classical antiquity see: K.J. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas: An Essay on the Practice and Theory of Ancient Greek Education From 600 to 300 BC*, ed. M.J. Rendall, London, Macmillan, 1907; H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb, London: Sheed & Ward, 1956 (first published as *Histoire de l’éducation dans l’antiquité*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1948); F.A.G. Beck, *Greek Education*, London, Methuen, 1964; Y.L. Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Leiden, Boston & Köln: Brill, 2001.
- 87 For a discussion of the extent to which socio-economic status impacted on participation in education at Athens see D. Pritchard, ‘Athletics, education and participation in Classical Athens’ in D.J. Phillips & D. Pritchard (eds), *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003, 293–349.
- 88 On the age appropriate for the commencement of formal tuition see Aristotle *Politics* VII.1336, Plato *Laws* 794C, Ps. Plato *Axiochos* 361d. On the duration of education see Plato *Protagoras* 325E.
- 89 T.E. Rihill, ‘Teaching and learning in Classical Athens’, *G&R* 50 (2003), 168–90.
- 90 Plato *Protagoras* 325E.
- 91 On the iconography of Archaic and Classical Athenian education see: F. Winter, ‘Schulunterricht auf griechischen Vasenbildern’, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 73 (1916), 275–85; J.D. Beazley, ‘Hymn to Hermes’, *AJA* 52 (1948), 336–40; H.R. Immerwahr, ‘Book rolls on Attic vases’ in C. Henderson (ed.), *Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, Vol. I, Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964, 17–48; id., ‘More book rolls on Attic vases’, *AntK* 16 (1973), 143–7; F.A.G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education*, Sydney: Cheiron Press, 1975; A.D. Booth, ‘Douris’ cup and the stages of schooling in Classical Athens’, *EMC* 29 (1985), 274–80.
- 92 Votive relief, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2756, late fifth century BC; M. Guarducci, ‘L’Offerta di Xenokrateia nel santuario di Cefiso al Falero’ in D.W. Bradeen & M.F. McGregor (eds), *ΦΟΡΟΣ: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, Locust Valley, New York, 1974, 45–54.
- 93 For a discussion of the wider educational experience available to boys of citizen families see M. Griffith, ‘“Public” and “private” in early Greek institutions of education’ in Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 23–84.
- 94 Aristotle *Politics* 1337b.
- 95 Aristotle *Politics* 1336b, trans. B. Jowett, New York, Random House, 1943.
- 96 For prepubertal schoolboys see, for example, red figure cup Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2285, ca 490–485 BC, Douris, ARV² 431.48, 1653, *Para* 374, *Add*² 237; red figure *kalpis hydria*, London, British Museum E171, ca 470–460 BC, Agrigento Painter, ARV² 579.87. For adolescent schoolboys see, for example, red figure cup, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1644/4, ca 450 BC, Splanchnopt Painter, ARV² 892.7, *Add*² 303; red figure cup, Washington, Smithsonian Institute A136373, Akestorides Painter, ca 460 BC, ARV² 781.4, *Add*² 288.
- 97 See, for example, red figure cup, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3698,

- ca 490–480 BC, Makron, CVA Austria, Vienna Kunsthistorisches I, pl. 14.2; fr. red figure cup, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 727, ca 490–480 BC, Douris, ARV² 428.14.
- 98 On this subject see B. Kratzmüller, ‘The different sides of one medal: male *paides* within the Attic sports environment of Late Archaic and Classical times’ in Mattusch *et al*, *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology Boston*, 621–3.
- 99 Aristotle *Politics* 1338b–1339a.
- 100 At the Olympic and Pythian Games, competitors were divided into *paides* and *andres*. To these at the Isthmian and Nemean Games, and at Athens at the competitions of the Panathenaia, Theseia, Herakleia, and Eleusinia was added the class of *ageneioi*. For bibliography relevant to the scholarly discussion of the chronological age limits of these groups see [Chapter 2](#), n. 47. At Athens we know of only one agonistic festival, the Hermaia, that excluded men from athletic participation and was focused wholly on youthful male competition. See Aischines *Against Timarkhos* 9–12; T.E. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, 91–2.
- 101 Pausanias 6.2.10–11.
- 102 See [Chapter 2.2](#)
- 103 Kratzmüller, ‘The different sides of one medal’, 621–3 M. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, *AntK Beiheft* 18, Basel, 1998, 61–2. See, for example, Panatheniac amphora in Bologna Museo Civico Archeologico 18039, Achilles Painter, ca 440 BC, *Para* 177, *Add*² 106.
- 104 Kratzmüller ‘The different sides of one medal’, 621–3.
- 105 Plato *Laws* VII 794C.
- 106 Athenian red figure calyx *krater*, Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi 19846, mid fifth century BC, Beazley Archive #14285.
- 107 See Beck *Album of Greek Education* 23–8; S.D. Bundrick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- 108 Aristotle *History of Animals* 581a 12–32.
- 109 See, for example, Athenian black figure neck *pelike*, New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.286.72, last quarter of the sixth century BC, Beazley Archive #4093; Athenian red figure *pelike*, Leiden, Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden RO II 60, Kassel Painter, ca 450–440 BC, ARV² 1084.16, *Add*² 327.
- 110 Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 70–2.
- 111 Athenian red figure cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum 22.139.72, Akastorides Painter, ca 460 BC, ARV² 781.1, 1670, *Add*² 288.
- 112 *Greek Anthology* VI 308.
- 113 Athenian red figure Nolan *amphora*, Collection du Château-musée de Boulogne sur mer 667, Ethiop Painter, ca 450 BC, ARV² 665.15, *Add*² 278.
- 114 On the likely lowly social status of school teachers in Classical Athens see Marrou *A History of Education in Antiquity* 278ff.
- 115 For a discussion of these book rolls see Beazley ‘Hymn to Hermes’ 336–40; Immerwahr ‘Book rolls on Attic vases’ 17–48; *id.*, ‘More book rolls on Attic vases’ 143–7.
- 116 For finds of actual writing tablets in the archaeological record see F.G. Kenyon, ‘Two Greek school tablets’, *JHS* 29 (1909), 29–40.
On the ways that boys learned to write see J.V. Muir, ‘A note on ancient methods of learning to write’, *CQ* 34 (1984), 236–7.
- 117 Beck *Album of Greek Education* 44.
- 118 For discussion of the cross-shaped instrument and further bibliography see Beck, *Album of Greek Education*, 17 and n. 59–66.

- 119 Athenian red figure cup in Melbourne: references provided in n. 96 above.
- 120 For the writing tablet in domestic, *sympotic* and equestrian contexts see, for example: Athenian red figure *kalphis hydria*, London, British Museum 1921.7–10.2, Group of Polygnotos ca 440 BC, ARV² 1060.138, *Para* 445, *Add²* 323; Athenian red figure cup, Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1843, Painter of London D12, third quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV² 961.44, *Add²* 308; Athenian red figure cup, Paris, Louvre G448, Penthesilea Painter, ca 460 BC, ARV² 880.5.
- 121 Immerwahr, ‘Book rolls on Attic vases’, 23–4.
- 122 On the association of democracy, the extent of literacy in society, and an increased demand for formal schooling in letters in Late Archaic and Classical Athens see: F.D. Harvey, ‘Literacy in the Athenian democracy’, *REG* 79 (1966), 585–635; W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989; K. Robb, *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994; C.W. Hedrick, Jr., ‘Reading, writing and democracy’ in R. Osborne & S. Hornblower (eds), *Ritual, Finance, Politics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, 157–74; R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge & New York, 1992; Pritchard, ‘Athletics, education and participation in Classical Athens’, 293–349; C. Pébarthe, *Cité, démocratie et écriture. Histoire de l’alphabétisation d’Athènes à l’époque classique*, Paris: De Boccard, 2006.
- 123 Plato *Laws* 654a–b.
- 124 P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 71–3.
- 125 Wilson *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia* 12–21.
- 126 For discussion of the extent of choral participation in Classical Athens see: D. Pritchard, ‘Kleisthenes, participation, and the dithyrambic contests of Late Archaic and Classical Athens’, *Phoenix* 58 (2004), 208–28.
- 127 On the representation of literate females in Classical Greek art see: Immerwahr, ‘Book rolls on Attic vases’ 24–35; *id.*, ‘More book rolls on Attic vases’ 143–7; Beck, *Album of Greek Education*, 55–8. On female literacy see further Harvey, ‘Literacy in the Athenian democracy’, 621–3; S.B. Pomeroy, ‘Technikai kai mousikai. The education of women in the fourth century and in the Hellenistic period’, *AJAH* 2 (1977), 51–68; F.A.G. Beck, ‘The schooling of girls in ancient Greece’, *Classicum* 9 (1978), 1–9; S.G. Cole, ‘Could Greek women read and write?’ in H.P. Foley (ed.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, New York, London & Paris: Gordon & Breach, 1981, 219–45; Lewis *The Athenian Woman* 157–9; M. Steinhart, ‘Literate and wealthy women in Archaic Greece: some thoughts on the “Telesstas” hydria’ in E. Csapo & M.C. Miller (eds), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis. The Social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece*, Oxford: Oxbow, 2003, 204–31. The twelve Attic vessels to which I make reference here are as follows: red figure *kalphis hydria*, London, British Museum 1921.7–10.2, Group of Polygnotos, ca 450–440 BC, ARV² 1060.138, *Add²* 323; red figure *kalphis hydria*, London, British Museum E190, Manner of the Niobid Painter, ca 475–450 BC, ARV² 611.36, *Para* 396, *Add²* 268; red figure *kalphis hydria*, London, British Museum E209, Manner of the Shuvalov Painter, ca 425 BC, ARV² 1212.4; red figure *lekythos*, Paris, Louvre CA2220, Klüggmann Painter, ca 440–430 BC, ARV² 1199.25; white ground *lekythos*, private collection, Painter of Athens 1826, ca 460–450 BC, Beazley Archive #1359; red figure *hydria*, Athens, Kerameikos Museum 8070, ca 430 BC, Beazley Archive #5521; red figure *lekythos*, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1647, Manner of the Pistoxenos Painter, ca 450 BC, ARV² 864.14; red figure cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.167, Painter of

Bologna 417, ca 460–450 BC, ARV² 908.13, *Para* 430, *Add²* 304; red figure cup, Paris, Louvre G630, Wedding Painter, ca 450–440 BC, ARV² 923.28, *Add²* 305; red figure cup, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 8210, Sabouroff Painter, ca 460 BC, ARV² 838.27, *Add²* 145; red figure *chous* fr., Copenhagen, National Museum 4997, Kraipale Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1214.4, *Add²* 348; red figure cup, Warsaw, National Museum 142313, Boot Painter, ca 470–460 BC, ARV² 821.4, *Add²* 293.

- 128 Long-haired adolescent girls reading appear on Louvre G630 and Allard Pierson Museum 8210: see n. 127 for references.
- 129 Stobaeus IV, 193, no. 31. Xenophon *Memorabilia* I.V.2.
- 130 Red figure *chous* fr. in Copenhagen, National Museum 4997: see n. 127 for references.
- 131 For an example of a girl playing the *aulos* and accompanying a carousing *komast* in post-symposium revelry, see red figure cup by the Briseis Painter, first quarter of the fifth century BC, Paris, Louvre G312, ARV² 409.39.
- 132 Plato *Menexenus*; Plutarch *Life of Pericles* 34, 3–6.
- 133 See, for example, red figure *kalpis hydria* in London, British Museum 1921.7–10.2 and red figure *hydria* in Athens, Kerameikos 8070: references provided in n. 127.
- 134 For the red figure cups by the Boot Painter and the Painter of Bologna 417 see n. 127. The use of the *diptych* alone to indicate literacy is unusual. Usually females in red figure iconography are associated first and foremost with the scroll, though the *diptych* may also appear in these scenes suspended in the field. The only other example I know of what may be an isolated *diptych* with women appears on a red figure *lekythos* in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1647: references provided in n. 127. This is, however, a curious image, unlike no other *diptych* I have seen: a maid extends a square object, creased diagonally by four folds and bearing imitation writing, to a seated woman. In no extant red figure images do females engage in the act of writing, which contrasts markedly with the several red figure images of writing males we possess.
- 135 See for example the reading of the images on this vase in Neils & Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 247 Cat. No. 46.
- 136 On the users of *krotala* in Athenian iconography, see D. Paquette, *L'Instrument de Musique dans la Céramique de la Grèce: Études d'Organologie*, Paris: de Boccard, 1984, 205. I am grateful to Patricia Rovik for this reference. See also below, n. 291.
- 137 For scholarship on dance see M. Emmanuel, trans. H.J. Beazley, *The Antique Greek Dance After Sculpted and Painted Figures*, New York & London: John Lane Company, 1916; F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike*, Halle: Saale, 1926; L. Séchan, *La danse grecque antique*, Paris, de Boccard, 1930; J.D. Beazley, 'Narthex', *AJA* 37 (1933), 400–3; M. Verhoogen, 'Une leçon de danse', *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 28 (1956), 5–16; L.B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, London, Adam & Charles Black, 1964; G. Prudhommeau, *La danse grecque antique*, Paris, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1965; M. Robertson, 'A muffled dancer and others' in A. Cambitoglou (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1979, 129–34; H. Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen*, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern, 1984, 41–5; S.H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993; M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, *Les Danses pacifiques en Grèce antique*, Aix-en-Provence: Université d'Aix-en-Provence, 1994; B. Scholz, 'Akrobatinnen in Attika und Unteritalien' in B. Schmaltz & M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische*

Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Akten des Internationalen Vasen-Symposiums in Kiel von 24 bis 28.9.2001, Münster: Scriptorium, 2003, 99–101; Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 29–33.

- 138 S. Langdon, *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece, 1100–700 BCE*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 166–74.
- 139 See, for example: *pelike*, Richmond (VA), Museum of Fine Arts 62.1.13, Eucharides Painter, ARV² 1637.10bis, *Para* 347, *Add²* 199; cup, London, British Museum E61, Makron, ARV² 468.145, 482, 1654, *Add²* 245; cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum 41.162.130, Makron, ARV² 469.158; cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum GR1120, Makron, ARV² 478.319, *Add²* 247; cup, London, British Museum E68, Brygos Painter, ARV² 1574, *Para* 365, 367, *Add²* 225; *lekythos*, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS44.2699, Bowdoin Painter, ARV² 682.112, *Add²* 279; column krater, Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Catromediano 572, Pig Painter, ARV² 564.21, *Para* 389, *Add²* 260; *pelike*, Warsaw, National Museum 142310, Deepdene Painter, ARV² 500.32.
- 140 See, for example: neck *amphora*, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico 21151, Sabouroff Painter, ARV² 841.113, *Add²* 296; *lekythos*, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico 20966, Beazley Archive #3752; white ground *lekythos*, Würzburg, Universität Martin-von-Wagner Museum K1860, Beazley Archive #46230; black figure plate, St Petersburg, Hermitage 2213, Beazley Archive #9272; mule head *rhyton*, Paris, Louvre H67, Painter of Brussels R330, ARV² 930.101, *Para* 431; *pelike*, Stanford University 17410, *Para* 393, *Add²* 263.
- 141 Stemmed dish, St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B-177, Dish Painter, ARV² 787.5, *Para* 515, *Add²* 142.
- 142 Dancers appear on the following *lekythoi* painted by the Phiale Painter: New York market, Atlantis Antiquities 1118V, J.H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter*, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern, 1990, 120bis; Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A3556, ARV² 1021.120, *Add²* 316; Brunswick, Bowdoin College 1913.11, ARV² 1021.118, *Para* 441, *Add²* 316; Milan, Museo Teatrale alla Scala 50, ARV² 1021.119, *Add²* 316. Dancers appear on the following *kalpides* painted by the Phiale Painter: Copenhagen, National Museum 1942, ARV² 1020.88, *Para* 441, *Add²* 316; London, British Museum E185, ARV² 1019.86, *Add²* 316; Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale XXXX214267, ARV² 1020.87; Athens, Agora Museum P14848, ARV² 1020.89, 1678, *Add²* 315. The Phiale Painter also depicts dancers on the following vessels: neck *amphora*, Brussels, Cabinet des Médailles 13, ARV² 1016.37, *Add²* 316; *oinochoe*, Paris, Louvre G574, ARV² 1020.98, *Para* 441, *Add²* 316; *phiale*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 97.371, ARV² 1023.146, *Para* 441, *Add²* 316.
- 143 The pouch appears on two of the Phiale Painter's *kalpides* that depict a girl or girls dancing under the gaze of a male onlooker: Copenhagen, National Museum 1942 and London, British Museum E185. For full references see n. 142.
- 144 Oakley, *The Phiale Painter*, 37, n. 257.
- 145 *Phiale* in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 97.371. See n. 142 for full references.
- 146 Neck *amphora* in Brussels, Cabinet des Médailles 13. See n. 142 for full references. On the *narthex* see Beazley, 'Narthex', 400–3.
- 147 On children in Greek cult and ritual see generally: Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen*, 77–174; P. Brulé, *La Fille d'Athènes: la religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique. Mythes, cultes et société*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987; C. Müller, *Kindheit und Jugend in der griechischen Frühzeit: Eine Studie zur pädagogischen Bedeutung von Riten und Kulturen*, Giessen, 1990; M.

- Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, London & New York: Routledge, 2002; J. Neils, 'Children and Greek religion' in Neils & Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, 139–61; M. Seifert, 'Auf dem Weg zum Erwachsenwerden. Welche Rolle spielten die Kinder in attischen Kulte und Festen?', *Antike Welt* 37 (2006), 71–9. An excellent symposium on 'The Child in Ancient Greek Cult', as yet unpublished, was held at the University of Göteborg in 1999.
- 148 O. Bobou, 'No playing allowed? Depictions of children in ancient Greek sculpture' in G. Lillehammer (ed.), *Socialisation Recent Research on Childhood and Children in the Past*, Stavanger: University of Stavanger, 2010, 33–44.
- 149 For children in Athenian votive reliefs see M. Edelmann, *Menschen auf griechischen Weihreliefs*, Munich, 1999; C.L. Lawton, 'Children in Classical Attic votive reliefs' in Cohen & Rutter (eds), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, 41–60. See also F. van Straten, 'Votives and votaries in Greek sanctuaries' in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 191–223.
- 150 Lawton, 'Children in Classical Attic votive reliefs', 42.
- 151 Votive reliefs dedicated to Asklepieios and his family that incorporate child figures have been found on the Athenian Akropolis (Edelmann D6, D24), in the sanctuary of Asklepieios situated on the south slope of the Athenian Akropolis (Edelmann D16, D17, D18, D45, E3, F13, F14, F15, F16), in the sanctuary of Asklepieios in the Peiraeus (Edelmann F18, F24), and at Loukou in Attica (Edelmann F17).
- 152 E. Vikela, *Die Weihreliefs aus dem Athener Pankrates-Heiligtum am Ilissos: religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung und Typologie*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1994.
- 153 For votive reliefs dedicated to Zeus Pankrates that include child figures among the worshipping group see Edelmann D8, D11, D13 and for Herakles Pankrates see Edelmann D9, D10 and F11.
- 154 For votive reliefs dedicated to Zeus Philios that include child figures among the worshipping group see Edelmann D33 and E8 and for Zeus Meilichios see Edelmann D23, D28 and D32.
- 155 Aristophanes *Clouds* 864.
- 156 For votive reliefs dedicated to Demeter, Demeter and Persephone or Demeter, Persephone and Triptolemos that include child figures among the worshipping group see: from Eleusis – Edelmann F33 and F34; from the Asklepieion at Peiraeus – Athens National Archaeological Museum 1461, K.-V. von Eickstedt, *To Asklepieion tou Peiraios*, Athens: Athens Archaeological Society, 2001, fig. 6; from Attica – Edelmann D15; from Athens, Areiopagos – Edelmann D1.
- 157 For votive reliefs dedicated to Artemis that include child figures among the worshipping group see Edelmann F27–F30.
- 158 For votive reliefs dedicated to Athena, Kephissos, Pan and the nymphs, Amphiaraos, and Apollo that include child figures among the worshipping group see Edelmann A14 and E1 (Athena), D19 (Amphiaraos), D26 (Pan and the nymphs), E6 Kephissos, and E17 (Apollo).
- 159 Xenokrateia relief, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2756, late fifth century BC, Edelmann E6. Votive relief from the Athenian Akropolis, Athens Akropolis Museum 3030, mid fourth century BC, Edelmann E1.
- 160 Attic votive relief, Venice, Museo Archeologico 80: E. Raftopoulou, *Figures enfantines du Musée National d'Athènes*, Munich, Hirmer, 2000, 4–5, pl. 95, fig. 15.
- 161 Dedication to Herakles by Lysistrate: Athens, Epigraphical Museum 8793, Edelmann F5. Another votive relief to Herakles depicts a semi-naked boy presented by an adult male before Herakles: Athens National Archaeological

- Museum 2723, Edelmann E5, fig. 61 this volume. However, the stature and physique of the boy, combined with his semi-naked state, suggest that this is a pubertal youth rather than a younger child. Further examples of votive reliefs depicting standing clothed children presented before the god(s) include Brauron Museum 1153, Edelmann F29 and Rome, Museo Barracco 41, Edelmann E17.
- 162 See further on the identity of the dedicators D.J. Geagan, 'Children in Athenian dedicatory monuments', *Boeotia Antiqua IV. Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on Boeotian Antiquities*, Amsterdam, J.C. Gieben, 163–73.
- 163 On stone votive statues of children see C. Vorster, *Griechische Kinderstatuen*, Cologne, 1983; Raftopoulou, *Figures enfantines*.
- 164 Bobou, 'No playing allowed? Depictions of children in ancient Greek sculpture'.
- 165 Votive relief to Apollo from the Pythion at Ikaria: Rome, Museo Barracco 41, Edelmann E17.
- 166 Geagan, 'Children in Athenian dedicatory monuments', 168–9, notes the existence of a number of third-century BC inscribed bases for statues of *arrephoroi* from the Athenian Akropolis.
- 167 Child terracottas have, for example, been found and published from the Athenian Eleusinion and the Thesmophorion: see, respectively, D. Burr Thompson, 'Three centuries of Hellenistic terracottas', *Hesperia* 21 (1952), 120–64, and H.A. Thompson, 'Pnyx and Thesmophorion', *Hesperia* 5 (1936), 170–7. Many child terracottas come also from the sanctuary of Artemis Amaryssia on Euboea: E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 'Un dépôt de temple et le sanctuaire d'Artémis Amarysia en Eubée', *Kernos* 5 (1992), 235–63.
- 168 In this section I omit discussion of young female *kanephoroi* in ritual scenes since this was a role that could be filled only by girls once they had reached puberty. *Kanephoroi* will be discussed in my forthcoming book on *Adolescence in Ancient Athens*.
- 169 Attic black figure belly *amphora*, London, British Museum B171, Beazley Archive #5725.
- 170 For a list of all known Athenian black- and red-figure vessels depicting *hieroskopia*, see F.T. van Straten, *Hiera Kala. Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Leiden, New York & Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1995, 156–7, 238–43.
- 171 Athenian red figure bell *krater*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.25, ca 430 BC, Manner of the Kleophon Painter, *Para* 457, *Add²* 335.
- 172 For a list of images depicting boy assistants in sacrifice scenes, both in vase painting and votive relief sculpture, see van Straten *Hiera Kala*.
- 173 See, for example, a votive relief from the sanctuary of Pankrates in Athens: Fetiye Camii P68A, Vikela *Die Weihreliefs aus dem Athener Pankrates-Heiligtum aus Illisos*, S1, pl. 32.
- 174 On this topic see J. Gebauer, 'Sklaven beim Opfer? Zur Bestimmung der sozialen Stellung von Helferfiguren in Tieropferdarstellungen' in B. Schmaltz & M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext*, Münster: Scriptorium, 2003, 111–13.
- 175 Athenian black figure neck *amphora*, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 464.39, ca 525–500 BC, Beazley Archive #6665. Athenian black figure *skyphos*, Rome, Villa Giulia Museum 47266, ca 500–475 BC, van Straten *Hiera Kala* 241, V254.
- 176 Frr. Athenian red figure bell *krater*, London, British Museum E494, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1079.3, 1682, *Add²* 326.
- 177 On the loincloth and *exomis* see M. Pipili, 'Wearing an Other hat: workmen

- in town and country' in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Leiden, Boston & Cologne: Brill, 2000, 153–79; Gebauer 'Sklassen beim Opfer', 111–13.
- 178 Gebauer 'Sklassen beim Opfer' 111–13. Attic red figure *stamnos*, Paris, Louvre G413, Hermonax, ca 460 BC, ARV² 484.22, 1655, *Para* 379, *Add²* 248.
- 179 Attic red figure bell *krater*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.25, Manner of the Kleophon Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1149.9, *Para* 457, *Add²* 335.
- 180 This semi-draped dress code also holds good for the young boy assistant depicted at the centre of the Parthenon east frieze, though instead of an *exomis* he wears a voluminous *himation* that falls unevenly down his front and back and exposes his body in side view. He is engaged in handing to, or receiving from, a bearded adult male in priestly garb a folded cloth. Further discussion of the identity of this child is provided in my forthcoming article, 'Rock of Ages: childhood and youth on the Parthenon frieze' in *BICS*.
- 181 On the *pais amphithaleis* see A. Oepke, 'Amphithaleis im griechischen und hellenistischen Kult', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31 (1934), 42–56; L. Robert, 'Amphithalis' in *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson*, *HSCP*, Suppl. Vol. I (1940), 509–19; Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen* 82–4, 107–14.
- 182 On the *pais aph'hestias* see K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Philadelphia, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1974, 98–114.
- 183 Inscription of ca 460 BC set up in the City Eleusinion: *I.G.*, I², 6, lines 24–6. On the inscription found in the Athenian Agora and dated to the second quarter of the fourth century BC see K. Clinton, 'A law in the City Eleusinion concerning the Mysteries', *Hesperia* 49 (1980), 258–88: lines 41–2 of the inscription are relevant.
- 184 On the Hellenistic and Roman statues of *paides aph'hestias*, some of which appear to be copies of fifth century originals, and on the inscribed statue bases see K. Esdaile, 'O APH ESTIAS. Two statues of a boy celebrating the Eleusinian Mysteries', *JHS* 29 (1909), 1–5; K. Kourouniotes, 'Eleusiniaka', *ADelt* 8 (1923), 155–74; D.J. Geagan, 'Children in Athenian dedicatory monuments' in J.M. Fossey (ed.), *Boeotia Antiqua* IV, Amsterdam, Gieben, 1994, 170–2; Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* 101–8.
- 185 Marble statue of a boy, Eleusis Archaeological Museum Inv. 5162, third quarter of the fourth century BC, Vorster *Griechische Kinderstatuen* Cat. No. 116. A second, slightly later, marble statue of a boy from Eleusis, dates to the last quarter of the fourth century BC, Vorster *Griechische Kinderstatuen* cat. No. 117.
- 186 Fragmentary black figure *loutrophoros*, Eleusis Archaeological Museum, ca 520 BC, Beazley Archive #5955.
- 187 On the issue of whether children other than the *pais ap'hestias* were initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries see Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* 11; Golden *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 44; M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, London & New York: Routledge, 2002, 92–3.
- 188 Pollux 3.39–40.
- 189 For the several ancient literary references, see Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, 192 n. 31.
- 190 *Suda* s. *epaulia*
- 191 See, for example, the images on the following red figure *loutrophoroi*: Athens National Archaeological Museum 1453, Washing Painter, ca 425 BC, ARV² 1127.18, *Para* 453, *Add²* 332; Houston, Museum of Fine Arts 37.10, Pan

- Painter, ca 470 BC, ARV² 554.79, Add² 258; Sarajevo, National Museum 418, ca 450 BC, Beazley Archive #8595.
- 192 Red figure *loutrophoros*, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 69.78, near the Naples Painter, ca 440 BC, ARV² 1102.2, Para 451, Add² 329.
- 193 See, for example: black figure *lekkythos*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.1, Amasis Painter, ca 550–540 BC, Para 66, Add² 45; black figure neck amphora, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.230.14, Exekias, ca 540 BC, ARV² 144.3, 686, Para 59, Add² 39; red figure *loutrophoros*, Berlin Antikensammlung F2372, ca 430 BC, Beazley Archive #9603.
- 194 Frr. red figure *loutrophoros*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.223, Phiale Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1017.44, Add² 315.
- 195 J.H. Oakley, 'The Anakalypteria', AA 1982, 113–18; R.F. Sutton, Jr., 'On the Classical Athenian wedding: two red figure *loutrophoroi* in Boston' in R.F. Sutton, Jr. (ed.), *Daidalikon. Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder*, Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1989, 351–9.
- 196 By the time that *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* by J.H. Oakley and R.H. Sinos was published in 1993, Oakley had come to a similar conclusion – see pp. 25–6.
- 197 Red figure *lekkythos*, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4545, Manner of the Pan Painter, ca 475 BC, ARV² 560.5, 1659, Para 388, Add² 259.
- 198 See this chapter, n. 10. See also Chapter 4.1 for the suggestion that a *kalpis hydria* in Munich may depict the *pais amphithaleis* on the occasion of the *epaulia*, or bringing of the wedding gifts.
- 199 See Robert, 'Amphithalis', 516–17.
- 200 N. Robertson, 'The ritual background of the Erysichthon story', *AJP* 105 (1984), 388–95.
- 201 See, for example: red figure bell *krater*, Paris, Louvre G496, Pothos Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1190.24, 1686; red figure bell *krater*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.24, near the Chrysis Painter, ca 425 BC, ARV² 1159, Para 458, Add² 337.
- 202 F. Graf, *Apollo*, Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2009 – chapter 5: 'Apollo, the young and the city'.
- 203 Plutarch *Thes.* 18.1–2. See also E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary*, London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983, 79; Robertson, 'The ritual background of the Erysichthon story' 391; Dillon *Women and Girls in Greek Religion* 89.
- 204 Red figure column *krater*, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81295, Orchard Painter, ca 475–450 BC, ARV² 523.9.
- 205 For female choruses beyond Athens see C. Calame, *Les Chœurs de Jeunes Filles en Grèce Archaïque*, Rome, Edizioni dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1977; W.B. Ingalls, 'Ritual performance as training for daughters in Archaic Greece', *Phoenix* 54 (2000), 1–20.
- 206 On the chorus at Athens see P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia: the Chorus, the City, and the Stage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- 207 P. Wilson, 'Performance in the *Pythion*: The Athenian Thargelia' in P. Wilson (ed.), *The Greek Theatre and Festivals. Documentary Studies*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 150–82.
- 208 Aristotle *History of Animals* 581a 12–32.
- 209 For the role of the chorus in the socialisation of Athenian boys, and for discussion of the extent of choral participation in Classical Athens, see D. Pritchard, 'Dancing for Dionysos', *Classicum* XXVII.2 (Oct. 2001), 6–13; P. Wilson, 'The politics of dance: dithyrambic contest and social order in ancient Greece' in

- D.J. Phillips & D. Pritchard (eds), *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2003, 163–96; D. Pritchard, ‘Kleisthenes, participation, and the dithyrambic contests of Late Archaic and Classical Athens’, *Phoenix* 58 (2004), 208–28.
- 210 H. Froning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen*, Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1971.
- 211 For a boy dancing to the accompaniment of an *aulos* in the presence of a large tripod see, for example, red figure bell *krater*, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale 1583, Marlay Painter, ca 430 BC, Beazley Archive #2053.
For boys approaching a victory tripod see, for example: red figure *chous*, Paris, Louvre CA1354, ca 425 BC, Beazley Archive #4186; red figure *chous*, Paris, Louvre N2703, ca 400 BC, Beazley Archive #4094.
- 212 Red figure bell *krater*, Copenhagen, National Museum CHR.VIII.939, ca 430 BC, Beazley Archive #9559. See also: red figure bell *krater*, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale 4688, ca 440 BC, Beazley Archive #3032; volute *krater*, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 44894, Kleophon Painter, ca 440 BC, ARV² 1143.1, 1684, *Para* 455, *Add*² 334.
- 213 On pyrrhic dance see M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, *Les danses armées en Grèce antique*, Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1993; S.H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, 137–68; P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell’antichità greco romana: Studi sulla danza armata*, Pisa & Rome: Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1998.
- 214 J.-C. Poursat, ‘Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique’, *BCH* 92 (1968), 550–615; Ceccarelli, *La pirrica*.
- 215 See, for example: Attic white ground *phiale*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 65.908, Painter of London D12, ca 450 BC, Beazley Archive #4826; Attic red figure cup, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3950, Painter of Bologna 417, ca 450 BC, ARV² 914.142.
- 216 For further discussion of such images, see my comments in [Chapter 4.4](#).
- 217 See n. 213–14.
- 218 C. Bron, ‘The sword dance for Artemis’, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 24 (1996), 69–83.
- 219 On two Athenian red figure vessels, female pyrrhicists dance either in a sanctuary of Artemis or in the presence of a palm tree, an attribute closely associated with Artemis and Apollo: red figure *pyxis*, Naples Museo Nazionale H3010, ca 450 BC, Beazley Archive #3831; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.315, Makron, first quarter of the fifth century BC, Beazley Archive #22035.
- 220 Bron, ‘The sword dance for Artemis’, 79–80.
- 221 Golden, *Children and Childhood*, 46–8.
- 222 Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 641–5, trans. M. Golden.
- 223 For the ancient literary sources concerning the *arrephoroi*, see: P. Brulé, *La Fille d’Athènes*, 79–105; G. Donnay, ‘L’Arrephorie: Initiation ou rite civique? Un cas d’école’, *Kernos* 10 (1997), 177–205.
- 224 A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, Rome, Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1969, 229–311; Donnay, ‘L’Arrephorie’ 197–200.
- 225 E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: an Archaeological Commentary*, Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983, 39–46.
- 226 See, for example, Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, 229–311; Brulé, *La Fille d’Athènes*, 79–105; W. Burkert, trans. P. Bing, *Savage Energies*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2001, 37–63. Contra see, for example,

- N. Robertson, 'The riddle of the Arrhephoria at Athens', *HSCP* 87 (1983), 241–88; L. van Sichelen, 'Nouvelles orientations dans l'étude de l'arrhéphorie attique', *AC* 56 (1987), 88–102.
- 227 D.J. Geagan, 'Children in Athenian dedicatory monuments' in J.M. Fossey (ed.), *Boeotia Antiqua IV. Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on Boiotian Antiquities. Boiotian (and Other) Epigraphy*, Amsterdam, Gieben, 1994, 163–73; Donnay, 'L'Arrhéphorie' 204–5.
- 228 See, for example: G.W. Elderkin, 'The cults of the Erechtheion', *Hesperia* 10 (1941), 120–1; I. Jenkins, *The Parthenon Frieze*, London: British Museum, 1994, 35–9.
- 229 I further discuss these two figures, and suggest an alternative and more probable identity for them, in my forthcoming article, 'Rock of Ages: childhood and youth on the Parthenon frieze' in the *BICS*.
- 230 Fourth-century votive relief dedicated to the Three Graces on the Athenian Akropolis, Athens Akropolis Museum 2554. Fourth-century statue base with relief decoration from the Athenian Akropolis, Akropolis Museum 3306. O. Palagia, 'Women in the cult of Athena' in N. Kaltsas & H.A. Shapiro, *Worshipping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*, New York: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, 2008, 34.
- 231 Red figure *hydria* fr., Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität 1632A-B, Kleophon Painter, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1147.61, *Add²* 335.
- 232 Plutarch *Mor.* 839C. For modern scholarship see, for example: Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen*, 99–100; Golden, *Children and Childhood*, 76.
- 233 Red figure *lekythos*, Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale XXXXO.4113, Brygos Painter, ca 480 BC, ARV² 384.212. M. Miller, 'The parasol: an oriental status-symbol', *JHS* 112 (1992), 103.
- 234 On the iconography of the *kanephoros* mantle see L.J. Roccas, 'The kanephoros and her festival mantle in Greek art', *AJA* 99 (1995), 641–66. On *kanephoroi* accompanied by the daughters of metics carrying parasols see Miller, 'The parasol', 103.
- 235 Black figure *lekythos*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.10, Amasis Painter, ca 560 BC, *ABV* 154.57, 688.
- 236 See, for example: Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, 229–311; L. Kahil, 'L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère', *AntK* 20 (1977), 86–98; B.C. Smith, 'Mimicking bears for Artemis: girls' maturation rites in Attica', *Hesperia* 48 (1979), 325–41; M.B. Walbank, 'Artemis bear-leader', *CQ* 31 (1981), 276–81; Simon, *Festivals of Attica* 83–8; S. Cole, 'The social function of rituals of maturation: the Koureion and the Arkteia', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 233–44; Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen*, 100–7; Brulé, *La Fille d'Athènes*, 225–83; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*, Athens, Kardamitsa, 1988; K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology*, London & New York: Routledge, 1989; P. Perlman, 'Acting the She-Bear for Artemis', *Arethusa* 22 (1989), 111–33; T.F. Scanlon, 'Race or chase at the Arkteia of Attica?', *Nikephoros* 3 (1990), 73–120; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Ancient rites and modern constructs: the Brauronian bears again', *BICS* 37 (1990), 1–14; Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, 171–93; B. Gentili & F. Perusino (eds), *Le orse di Brauron. Un rituale di iniziazione femminile nel santuario di Artemide*, Pisa, ETS, 2002; C.A. Faraone, 'Playing the bear and fawn for Artemis: female initiation or substitute sacrifice?' in D.B. Dodd & C.A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and*

- Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, London & New York: Routledge, 2003, 43–68; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, 228–49.
- 237 Particularly relevant here are the *Suda*, scholia to the Leyden manuscript of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 644–5, and Harpokration s.v. *dekateusai*. See Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* 21–31; Faraone, 'Playing the bear and fawn for Artemis', 51–4.
- 238 The penteteric Brauronia is referenced in Aristophanes' *Peace* 876 and Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 54.7. See also D.P. Delmouso, 'The *Theoria* of Brauron' in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos & G.C. Nordquist (eds), *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, 26–29 June, 1986, Stockholm, Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1988, 255–8; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* 21–31.
- 239 The Arkteia as a *mysterion* is referenced in the scholia to the Leyden manuscript of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 644–5. See Faraone, 'Playing the bear and fawn for Artemis', 51–4.
- 240 Shedding the *krokotos* is referenced in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 644–5. Wearing the *krokotos* is referenced in the *Suda* and in the Leyden manuscript of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 644–5. See Faraone, 'Playing the bear and fawn for Artemis', 51–4.
- 241 J. Papadimitriou, 'The sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron', *Scientific American* 208 (1963), 111–20.
- 242 L. Kahil, 'Quelques vases du sanctuaire d'Artémis à Brauron', *AntK Erstes Beiheft*, 1963, 5–29; id., 'Autour de l'Artémis attique', *AntK* 8 (1965), 20–33; id., 'Le "cratérisque" d'Artémis et le Brauronion de l'Acropole', *Hesperia* 50 (1981), 253–63.
- 243 Kahil, 'Autour de l'Artémis attique', 20–33; L. Palaiokrassa, *To Iero tis Artemidos Mounichias*, Athens Archaeological Society, 1991, 74–82.
- 244 Kahil, 'Autour de l'Artémis attique', 20–33; id., 'Le "cratérisque" d'Artémis et le Brauronion de l'Acropole', 253–63.
- 245 One of the few scholars to question the link between the rituals of the Arkteia and the images on the *krateriskoi* is R. Hamilton, 'Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia', *Hesperia* 58 (1989), 449–53.
- 246 See, for example, Brauron fr. *krateriskos* no. 9, Kahil 'Autour de l'Artémis attique' pl. 8.5.
- 247 See, for example: Brauron *krateriskoi* A25 and A26, Kahil 'Autour de l'Artémis attique' pl. 7.3 and 7.5; Mounichia *krateriskoi* MII5431, Palaiokrassa *To Iero tis Artemidos Mounichias* pl. 43 Kκ55; MII5429, Palaiokrassa pl. 43 Kκ52; MII5424, Palaiokrassa pl. 38 Kκ3; EM20573, Palaiokrassa pl. 40, Kκ8. For long hair as an iconographic indicator of the *parthenos* life stage see this volume [Chapters 2.2](#) and [2.3](#).
- 248 See Brauron *krateriskoi* A25 and A26, Kahil 'Autour de l'Artémis attique' pl. 7.3 and 7.5; Mounichia *krateriskos*, MII5431, Palaiokrassa *To Iero tis Artemidos Mounichias* pl. 43 Kκ55.
- 249 See Mounichia *krateriskoi* MII5429, Palaiokrassa pl. 43 Kκ52; MII5424, Palaiokrassa pl. 38 Kκ3.
- 250 See Mounichia *krateriskos* EM20573, Palaiokrassa pl. 40, Kκ8 – shoulder mantle also added here. On the shoulder mantle as an iconographic indicator of the pubertal *parthenos* see this volume [Chapters 2.2](#) and [2.3](#).
- 251 These two unprovenanced red figure *kraters*, now in a Basle private collection, date to ca 430–420 BC and are published by Kahil, 'L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère', 86–98.

- 252 Scanlon, 'Race or chase at the Arkteia of Attica?', 73–120.
- 253 Hamilton, 'Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia', 449–53.
- 254 Attic black figure *lekythos*, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 548, from Salamis, Beldam Painter, first quarter of the fifth century BC, *Para* 292.66.
- 255 Attic red figure *pyxis*, Munich Antikensammlungen Schoen 64, follower of Douris, ca 460 BC, ARV² 806.93, *Para* 420, *Add*² 291.
- 256 *Suda* s.v. *proteleia*.
- 257 Scholion to the Leyden manuscript of Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 644–5; Harpokration s.v. *arkteusai*.
- 258 For discussion of the ancient literary sources see Scanlon, 'Race or chase at the Arkteia of Attica?', 73–120.
- 259 Scholia to Leyden manuscript of Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 644–5; *Suda* s.v. *arktos e Brauroniois*; Lysias in T. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, Berlin, 1814–21, 444 s.v. *arkteusai*.
- 260 L. Kahil, 'La déesse Artémis: Mythologie et iconographie' in J.N. Coldstream & M.A.R. Colledge (eds), *Greece and Italy in the Classical World. Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London, 3–9 September 1978*, London, 1979, 73–87 notes a possible alternative mythological *aetion* for the Arkteia. The Leyden scholion to Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 644–5 relates that the sacrifice of Iphigeneia by Agamemnon took place at Brauron, on which occasion a bear was substituted for the girl, giving rise to the celebration of a *mysterion*. In this context Kahil points to a passage in Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 239 in which Iphigeneia sheds her saffron robe prior to her sacrifice. Kahil thus proposes that the nude girls whom we witness on the *krateriskoi* are *arktoi* who commemorate the sacrifice of Iphigeneia.
- 261 Hesychios s.v. *arkteia*; Bekker *Anecdota Graeca* s.v. *arkteusai*.
- 262 Faraone, 'Playing the bear and fawn for Artemis', 43–68.
- 263 S.G. Cole, 'Domesticating Artemis' in S. Blundell & M. Williamson (eds), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, London & New York: Routledge, 1998, 27–43; Faraone, 'Playing the bear and fawn for Artemis', 48–50.
- 264 Not only might childbirth cause the death of the mother, but the arrival of menarche was also considered to be a dangerous time for the female: the Hippocratic work *Peri Parthenion* viii.468, 13–14 reports that menarche for some girls was accompanied not only by adverse physical symptoms but also by hysteria, and that those who suffered and survived such conditions dedicated clothing to Artemis in thanksgiving. See further J. Reilly, 'Naked and limbless: Learning about the feminine body in ancient Athens' in A.O. Koloski-Ostrow & C.L. Lyons (eds), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, London & New York: Routledge, 1997, 154–73.
- 265 Schol. On *Iliad* XVIII.487, citing Kallimachos.
- 266 Attic red figure *krater*, Basle, private collection, ca 430–420 BC. Kahil, 'L'Artémis de Brauron', 86–98.
- 267 Kahil, 'L'Artémis de Brauron', 86–98; Simon, *Festivals of Athens*, 83–8; G. Arrigoni, 'Donne e Sport nel Mondo Greco' in G. Arrigoni (ed.), *La donna in Grecia*, Bari, Laterza, 1985; Hamilton, 'Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia', 462–3.
- 268 E. Bevan, 'The goddess Artemis, and the dedication of bears in sanctuaries', *BSA* 82 (1987), 17–21.
- 269 Selected maidens – scholion to the Leyden manuscript of Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 645. All maidens – scholion to the Ravenna manuscript of Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 645; *Suda* s.v. *arktos e Brauroniois*.

- 270 Akropolis – Kahil, ‘Le ‘cratérisque’ d’Artémis et le Brauronion de l’Acropole’, 253–63. Agora – J. Threpsiades & E. Vanderpool, *ADelt* 19 (1964), 33.
- 271 Brauron – Kahil, ‘Quelques vases du sanctuaire d’Artémis à Brauron’, 13–14; id., ‘Autour de l’Artémis Attique’, 22. Melite – Threpsiades & Vanderpool, *ADelt* 19 (1964), 28.
- 272 Palaiokrassa, *To Iero tis Artemidos Mounichias*, 80.
- 273 Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls’ Transitions*, 112–14.
- 274 Red figure *krater* fr., Brauron A56, ca 475–450 BC, Kahil, ‘Quelques vases du sanctuaire d’Artémis à Brauron’, pl. 8.8.
- 275 See, for example: black figure bowl or *pyxis* fr., Brauron A3, Burgon Group, ca 560 BC, Kahil, ‘Quelques vases du sanctuaire d’Artémis à Brauron’, pl. 4.4; red figure *pyxis* lid fr., Brauron A50, ca 450–425 BC, *ibid.*, pl. 13.6; white ground cup fr., Brauron A36, ?Brygos Painter, ca 480 BC, *ibid.*, pl. 10.1; red figure *lebes gamikos* fr., Brauron 637, L. Kahil, ‘Quelques exemples de vases de mariage à Brauron’ in B. Petrakos (ed.), *Epainos Ioannou K. Papdimitriou*, Athens, Athens Archaeological Society, 1997, 379–404.
- 276 B. Lundgren, ‘Boys at Brauron: The significance of a votive offering’ in T. Fischer-Hansen & B. Poulsen (eds), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast*, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2009, 117–26.
- 277 S. Houby-Nielsen, ‘“Burial language” in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos’, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* I (1995), 129–91.
- 278 S. Houby-Nielsen, ‘Child burials in ancient Athens’ in J. Sofaer Derevenski (ed.), *Children and Material Culture*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000, 151–66.
- 279 Funerary *stèle* of Megakles and Philo, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.185a-d and Berlin Staatliche Museen K7, G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1915, No. 15, pl. 15–18.
- On children on Attic funerary *stelai* see: C. Vorster, *Griechische Kinderstatuen*, Cologne, 1983, 1–47; O. Hirsch-Dyck, *Les Représentations des Enfants sur les Stèles Funéraires Attiques*, Warsaw-Krakow, Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1983; H. Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst*, Mainz am Rhein, von Zabern, 1984, 75–191; U. Vedder, *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4 Jhs. V. Chr.*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1985, 21–36; M. Burson-Walter, ‘Attic Greek Attitudes Toward Children’s Death: Depictions on Fourth Century Grave Stelai’, unpublished MA thesis, Michigan State University, 1988; C.W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Kilchberg, Akanthus, 1993–95; A. Scholl, *Die Attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4 Jhs. V. Chr.*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1996, 114–24; J.B. Grossman, ‘Forever young: an investigation of the depictions of children on Classical Attic funerary monuments’ in A. Cohen & J.B. Rutter (eds), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007, 309–22.
- 280 L.A. Beaumont, ‘The changing face of childhood’ in J. Neils & J.H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003, 73–5; J.H. Oakley, ‘Children in Athenian funerary art during the Peloponnesian War’ in O. Palagia (ed.), *Art in Athens During the Peloponnesian War*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 207–35.
- 281 Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.132.
- 282 Grossmann, ‘Forever young’, 314. The only *stelai* of which I know where the child is shown as seated rather than standing are: *stèle* of Neiotton, Athens

National Archaeological Museum 4549, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.857a; stele of [Dion]ysios, son of Ameinias, from Acharnai, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2758, Clairmont 1.370.

- 283 For funerary stelai for boys inscribed only with the child's name see, for example: stele of Apolexis, Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, V.G. Simkhovitch Collection 63.105.33, ca 400–375 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.705; stele of Panphilos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 787, early fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.860; stele of Aristeidēs, Athens National Archaeological Museum 929, mid fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.865; stele of Moschion, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1134, second half of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.830.

For funerary stelai for girls inscribed only with the child's name see, for example: stele of Philoumene, Athens National Archaeological Museum, Karapanos Collection 1023, second quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.783; stele of Boularche, Athens National Archaeological Museum 913, first half of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.864; stele of Plangon, Munich Glyptothek 199, ca 325–320 BC, Clairmont 0.869a; stele of Euprosyne, Paris, Louvre Ma820, Clairmont 0.850.

- 284 For funerary stelai erected for boys inscribed with the child's name and patronym see, for example: stele of Menekrates son of Menon, London, British Museum 651, second quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.921; stele of Panphilos son of Emathes, Paris, Louvre Ma809, second half of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.874; stele of Erenion son of Ermaios, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1146, Clairmont 0.776. For funerary stelai erected for girls inscribed with the child's name and patronym see, for example: stele of Demainete daughter of Prokles, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.63, ca 310 BC, Clairmont 0.909; stele of Kallistonike daughter of Lysistratos, Athens, Kerameikos Museum P1140, I161, Clairmont 0.851; stele of Choregis daughter of Choregion, Athens National Archaeological Museum 892, Clairmont 0.911. For funerary stelai erected for boys inscribed with the child's name, patronym and demotic see, for example: stele of Hedylos son of Philokles from Prospalta, Berlin, Pergamon Museum K37, first quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.832; stele of [Dion]ysios son of Ameinias from Acharnai, see note 282 above for references. For funerary stelai erected for girls inscribed with the child's name, patronym and demotic see, for example: stele of Melisto daughter of Ktesikrates from Potamos, Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1961.86, ca 340 BC, Clairmont 0.915; stele of Mnesiptoleme daughter of Nikostratos from Acharnai, Athens National Archaeological Museum 981, Clairmont 0.859. For a handful of stelai erected for boys, accompanied by an inscription that names the child and the *deme* without the patronym see, for example: stele of Moschion from Rhamnous, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.117, mid fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.877; stele of Arrhileus from Halai, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3249, Clairmont 0.914.

- 285 Stelai of boys identified by an accompanying inscription as being of non-Athenian origin include the following: stele of Onatoridas of Boiotia, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art L.64.81, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.849; stele of Pamphilos son of Lampitos from Miletos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1980, Clairmont 0.870; stele of Aristophon son of Eunikos from (?)Rhegion, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 1553, Clairmont 0.878.

- 286 Grossman, 'Forever young', 318.

- 287 See, for example: stele of Kerkon and Pamphilos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 914, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.720; fr. stele, Athens,

- Ecole Française d'Athènes S.4, Clairmont 0.857; painted stele of Kollion, Broom Hall, Collection of Lord Elgin, Clairmont 0.836; stele, present whereabouts unknown, Clairmont 212.
- 288 See, for example: stele, Broom Hall, Collection of Lord Elgin, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.789; stele of Mikines son of Athenodoros, Paris, Musée Rodin 17, Clairmont 1.725; painted stele of Lysimachos and Polykrite, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2589, Clairmont 1.711.
- 289 Stele in Athens National Archaeological Museum 1896, mid fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.721.
- 290 It has been tentatively suggested by C. Clairmont and J. Grossman that an object suspended in the field on the stele of Plangon might be understood as *krotala*, but this is uncertain: stele of Plangon, Munich Glyptothek 199, ca 325–320 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.869a, Grossman 'Forever young' 315.
- 291 For *krotala* played by females in scenes of the *symposion*, other Dionysiac ritual, the wedding, and the dancing lesson see, for example, the following Athenian figure-decorated vessels: red figure *kylix*, London, British Museum E38, Epiktetos, ca 520–510 BC, *Para* 328, *Add*² 167; red figure *loutrophoros*, Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum 69.78, near the Naples Painter, third quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV² 1102.2, *Para* 451, *Add*² 329; Brussels, Cabinet des Médailles 13, Phiale Painter, third quarter of the fifth century BC, ARV² 1016.37, *Add*² 316. See also the long-haired, 'bikini'-clad, *krotala*-wielding girl on a red figure plate from Brauron dated to 430–420 BC, Brauron Archaeological Museum A43, Kahil 'Quelques vases du sanctuaire d'Artémis à Brauron', pl. 12.1: note that the lower garment of the girl is decorated with running figures that would appear to reference the Brauron bears.
- For *krotala* played by males see, for example, the following Athenian figure-decorated vessels: red figure *kylix*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum G71, Hermaios Painter, ca 500 BC, ARV² 111.14, 1626, *Add*² 173; red figure mug, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.339, Brygos Painter. ca 480 BC, ARV² 385.226, *Add*² 228.
- 292 Stele of Nikandros son of Parmenon, from Peiraeus, Athens National Archaeological Museum 877, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.910.
- 293 Stele depicting three children, Athens Archaeological Museum 1125, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.837.
- 294 Grossman, 'Forever young', 314.
- 295 G. Weicker, 'Hähne auf Grabstelen', *MDAI(A)*30 (1905), 207ff; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, 1942, 109ff; Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: la sculpture*, Paris, 1954; J.H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, 211–12; A. Cohen, 'Introduction: Childhood between past and present' in Cohen & Rutter, *Constructions of Childhood*, 15–20.
- 296 D. Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs*, Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, 1982, 39–53.
- 297 B. Holtzmann, 'Collection de l'Ecole française: sculptures', *BCH* 96 (1972), 79; Woysch-Méautis, *ibid*.
- 298 Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Vol. VI, Kilchberg, Akanthus, 1993, 81–3.
- 299 See Clairmont's index of relevant stelai, *ibid*. 83–4. See also Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animaux*, 39–53.

- 300 Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 159–66.
- 301 For a list of stelai with dolls see index of relevant stelai in Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Vol. VI, 102. While a number of stelai do depict the prepubescent girl with a doll, it is a more common motif on the stelai of adolescent *parthenoi*.
- 302 See, for example: stele of Philostratos son of Philoxenos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3696, second quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.855a; stele of Panphilos son of Eumathes, Paris, Louvre Ma809, second half of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 0.874; stele of Deinias from the *deme* of Oa, Athens National Archaeological Museum 934, Clairmont 0.930; stele of Demainete daughter of Prokles, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.63, ca 310 BC, Clairmont 0.909; stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 658, Clairmont 0.860a.
- 303 Grossman, ‘Forever young’, 317.
- 304 Ibid., 318.
- 305 For woman and child shaking hands see, for example, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1116, ca 320 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.441a.
- 306 See, for example, the following: stele of Aristolea daughter of Epiteles from the *deme* of Xypete and of Antias son of Antiphanes from the *deme* of Acharnai, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 280, ca 340–330 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.942; stele of [Deme]tria and Mikalion son of Olympos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2119, Clairmont 1.868; stele of Plathane daughter of Kallimachos from the *deme* of Melite and of Polykrates son of Polykrates from the *deme* of Oa, Athens Kerameikos Museum I 334, Clairmont 2.892.
- 307 See, for example, the following gravestones erected for wet nurses: stele of Melitta daughter of the freedman Apollodoros, London, British Museum 1909.2–21.1, mid fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.969; stele of Phanion from Corinth, Athens Epigraphical Museum 10506, Clairmont 1.980; stele of Christe, Athens Agora Museum I6508, Clairmont 1.949.
- 308 Stele of Philokles son of Dikaïos and of Dikaïos son of Philokles, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3947, ca 410 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.688.
- 309 Stele of Lamynthios of Miletos, of Euboulides son of Lamynthios and of Ada (not depicted), Athens National Archaeological Museum 906, ca 320 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.423; stele of Antiochos of Knidos, Paris, Louvre Ma773, ca 400 BC, Clairmont 1.713; stele, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 46, ca 380 BC, Clairmont 1.687.
- 310 Stele of Platon and Demokrates, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 26, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.759.
- 311 Stele of Panaitios from the *deme* of Hamaxanteia, Athens National Archaeological Museum 884, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.710; *lekythos*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 810, Clairmont 2.630; *loutrophoros* of Philytes and Aristomachos, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.253, Clairmont 2.879; *loutrophoros* of Theodotos, Athens National Archaeological Museum, Clairmont 2.777; *loutrophoros* of Kallonides son of Kallion and of Kalliades, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3732, Clairmont 2.882a.
- 312 Two bearded men shake hands in the presence of a draped boy, a second boy

naked except for a *chlamys* over his shoulder is probably a servant: *loutrophoros* of Polykles and Polykrates, Athens National Archaeological Museum 842, Clairmont 2.886. A second funerary marker also shows two men shaking hands in the presence of a boy, but the head of one figure is too damaged to determine whether both men were bearded: stele of [Chare]as from Ikarion and of Hierokles, son of Chareas, Athens, Agora Museum I 6692, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.857.

Two bearded men shake hands in the presence of a girl: stele of Kleomenes, Athens National Archaeological Museum 880, ca 410–400 BC, Clairmont 2.620; stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 899, ca 360 BC, Clairmont 2.889; stele, present whereabouts unknown, ca 360 BC, Clairmont 2.883b. The last two reliefs are near identical, and must have been produced by the same workshop.

- 313 M. Xagorari-Gleissner, 'Das kleine Mädchen und der alte Mann', *AntK* 2007, 51–7.
- 314 Demosthenes, *Against Aphobos* I.29.43.
- 315 Stele of Demetrios and Hedyle, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 2537, late fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.843; stele of Kleophon, present whereabouts unknown, on the Rome art market in 1991, Clairmont 1.863; stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 777, ca 400 BC, Clairmont 1.689.
- 316 See, for example, *loutrophoros* of Euthippos and Peisia, Athens National Archaeological Museum 953, second quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.855.
- 317 Stele of Littias, Choirine and Lysistrate, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 3504, early fourth century BC, Clairmont 2.747.
- 318 See, for example, n. 316.
- 319 See, for example: stele of Herakleides, Athens National Archaeological Museum, Karapanos Collection 959, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.782; *lekythos* of Nikosstrate, Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 34, Clairmont 2.670.
- 320 *Lekythos* of Mika and Kallistomache, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1092, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 3.269a.
- 321 Stele of Eutychis, Philippos and Dionysios, Eleusis Archaeological Museum, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.885.
- 322 See, for example: stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 2083, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.830b; *lekythos*, present whereabouts unknown, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont 2.856a; *lekythos*, Cleveland Museum of Art 25.1342, ca 400–375 BC, Clairmont 3.745; stele of Bako, Sokrates and Aristonike, Paris, Louvre MA3113, second half of the fourth century BC, Clairmont 4.910.
- 323 See, for example: stele of Archias son of Charileos from the *deme* of Kikynna and of Timarete and of Charileos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 908, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.853; stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 762, Clairmont 2.851.
- 324 Two boys, see for example: *lekythos* of Simiche, Moschos and Kratos, Piraeus Archaeological Museum 4535, third quarter of the fourth century BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.792; *lekythos*, present whereabouts unknown, ca 410 BC, Clairmont 2.651. Young girl and *parthenos*, see for example: *lekythos*, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.159, Clairmont 3.810. There survive, further, occasional examples of stelai on which a young girl and boy appear together with a *parthenos* and an adult male and female in an extended family setting: see, for example: stele of Nausikrate, Archias,

- Praximenes, Nausikrate and Nausippe, Rhamnous *apothēke*, ca 400–375 BC, Clairmont 3.710; stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1023, Clairmont 4.830.
- 325 Stele of Xanthippos, London, British Museum 1805.7–3.183, ca 420 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.630.
- 326 Stele of Euempolos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 778, ca 400 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.690.
- 327 I was alerted to this possibility by the exhibition label accompanying the stele of Euempolos in the Athens National Archaeological Museum. The relevant naval list is published in *IG P* 1032, 330.
- 328 Stele of Phanistrate, Athens National Archaeological Museum 993, ca 375–350 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 2.890.
- 329 For children depicted in the mortuary context on Athenian figured ceramics see: J. Boardman, ‘Painted funerary plaques and some remarks on prothesis’, *BSA* 50 (1955), 51–66; Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst*, 105–24; Oakley, ‘Children in Athenian funerary art during the Peloponnesian War’; id., *Picturing Death in Classical Athens*, 169–73.
- 330 White ground *lekythoi* depicting boy with Charon: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.44, Painter of Munich 2335, ca 430 BC, *ARV*² 1168.128, *Add*² 338; Athens National Archaeological Museum 16463, ca 430 BC, associated with the Quadrate Painter, Oakley *Picturing Death in Classical Athens* 124, fig. 86; Munich Antikensammlungen 6221, Thanatos Painter, ca 430 BC, Beazley Archive #4625; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 75.2.6, Quadrate Painter, ca 430 BC, *ARV*² 1237.17, *Add*² 352.
- 331 White ground *lekythos*, Berlin Antikensammlung F2447, Inscription Painter, ca 460 BC, Beazley Archive #1006342.
- 332 White ground *lekythos*, Oxford Ashmolean Museum 543, Beazley Archive #15459.
- 333 White ground *lekythoi* on which an *eidolon* hovers above the head of the dead boy: Ashmolean Museum AN1896–1908 G254, Manner of the Bird Painter, ca 425 BC, *ARV*² 1234.21, *Add*² 352; Marburg, Philipps-Universität 1016, Achilles Painter, ca 435 BC, *ARV*² 1233.19, *Add*² 352; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.72, Achilles Painter, ca 440–335 BC, Beazley Archive #1140; Athens National Archaeological Museum, W. Riezler, *Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen*, Munich, 1914, pl. 66.
- 334 White ground *lekythos*, Bonn Akademisches Kunstmuseum 66, Thanatos Painter, ca 440 BC, *ARV*² 1229.15.
- 335 Langdon, *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece, 1100–700 BCE*, 58–61.
- 336 On black figure funerary plaques see Boardman, ‘Painted funerary plaques and some remarks on prothesis’, 51–66.
- 337 On the *phormiskos* see: O. Touchefeu-Meynier, ‘Un nouveau ‘phormiskos’ à figures noires’, *RA* 1972, 93–102; Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst*, 37–41; E. Hatzivassiliou, ‘The Attic phormiskos. Problems of origin and function’, *BICS* 45 (2001), 113–48. For black figure *phormiskoi* depicting children at the *prothesis* see, for example: Bologna, Museo Civico 1438, ca 540–530 BC, Beazley Archive #5237; Brussels, Musées Royaux A1012, ca 500 BC, Beazley Archive #2882; Berlin Antikensammlung F2104, Beazley Archive #3994; Athens, Kerameikos Museum 691, ca 510–500 BC, *ABV* 678, *Add*² 148. For black figure *loutrophoroi* depicting children at the *prothesis* see, for example: Athens National Archaeological Museum 450, ca 500 BC, Sappho Painter, *CVA Athens I.III.Hg.* pls. 8.1–2, 9.3; Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1914.13, ca 500 BC, Manner of the Sappho Painter, Beazley Archive #1570.

Red figure *loutrophoroi* depicting children at the *prothesis* include: Paris, Louvre CA 453, ca 480 BC, Kleophrades Painter, ARV² 184.22, 1632, *Para* 340, *Add*² 187.

- 338 Black figure funerary plaque, Paris, Louvre MNB 905, Sappho Painter, ca 500 BC, Beazley Archive #463.
- 339 See, for example: Athens National Archaeological Museum 1936, Quadrate Painter, ca 420 BC, ARV² 1239.58; Paris, Musée du Petit Palais 344, Quadrate Painter, ca 425 BC, ARV² 1238.29; once London market, Sotheby's, Painter of New York 23.160.41, ca 430 BC, ARV² 1241.6, *Add*² 353.
- 340 Girl bringing doll to tomb: Attic white ground *lekythos*, New Orleans private collection, Thanatos Painter, ca 440 BC, ARV² 1230.45, *Add*² 351. Girl bringing mirror to tomb: Attic white ground *lekythos*, Baltimore, Robinson Collection, CVA Robinson Collection I.IIIJd, pl. XLI.1a.
- 341 White ground *lekythos*, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1947, Painter of Munich 2335, ca 430–420 BC, ARV² 1168.113, *Add*² 338.
- 342 For servile boys in funerary iconography see, for example: stele of Philostratos, Athens National Archaeological Museum 3696, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.855a; stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 715, ca 425 BC, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1.550; stele of Plathane and Polykrates, Athens Kerameikos Museum I 334, ca 330–320 BC, A. Scholl *Die Attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4 Jhs. v. Chr.*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1996, Cat. no. 46, pl. 36.2.
- 343 For servile girls in funerary iconography see, for example: stele of Demainete, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.63, Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 0.909; stele of Medontis and Nikandra, Athens Kerameikos Museum P233, ca 320 BC, Scholl *Die Attischen Bildfeldstelen* Cat. no. 51, pl. 23.2; fr. stele, Athens National Archaeological Museum 1993, early fourth century BC, N. Kaltsas (trans. D. Hardy) *Sculpture in the National Museum, Athens*, 2nd edn, Athens, Kapon Editions, 2002, 167, no.331.
- 344 See, for example, white ground *lekythos*, Atlanta, Emory University, Michael C. Carlos Museum 1999.11.1, Thanatos Painter, ca 440 BC, ARV² 1230.44, *Add*² 351: here an African slave girl brings offerings to a tomb monument topped by the figure of a squatting baby.

5 CONCLUSION

- 1 A more detailed exploration of the interplay of gender and age was presented by the present author at the inaugural conference of the Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past, held at Magdalen College Oxford in September 2007. This paper, entitled 'Shifting Gender: Age and social status as modifiers of childhood gender in ancient Athens' is now in preparation for publication.
- 2 For discussion of this issue and, more generally, of the changes in the Athenian iconography of the child see L.A. Beaumont, 'The changing face of childhood' in J. Neils & J. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, New York & London: Yale University Press, 2003, 59–83. See also, L.A. Beaumont, 'Changing childhoods? The representation of children in Attic figured vase painting' in B. Schmaltz & M. Söldner (eds) *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext*, Münster: Scriptorium, 2003, 108–10.
- 3 S.E. Halcrow & N. Tayles, 'The bioarchaeological investigation of childhood and social age: problems and prospects', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 15 (2008), 190–215.

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